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HERODOTUS

I

HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

BON FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	vii
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II	xix
BOOK I	1
BOOK II	273
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	499
MAP—WESTERN ASIA MINOR	<i>At end</i>

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A

IT is impossible to give certain and undisputed dates for the lifetime of Herodotus. But if we are to believe Aulus Gellius, he was born in 484 B.C.; and the internal evidence of his History proves that he was alive during some part of the Peloponnesian war, as he alludes to incidents which occurred in its earlier years. He may therefore be safely said to have been a contemporary of the two great wars which respectively founded and ended the brief and brilliant pre eminence of Athens in Hellas. He belongs in the fullest sense to the "great" period of Greek history.

Herodotus was (it is agreed on all hands) a native of Halicarnassus in Caria, and if his birth fell in 484, he was born a subject of the Great King. His early life was spent, apparently, in his native town, or possibly in the island of Samos, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. Tradition asserts that after a visit to Samos he "returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant" (Lygdamis); "but when later he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonised

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place."¹ This is supported by good evidence, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it. It is also stated that he visited Athens and there recited some part of his history; this may have happened, as alleged, about the year 445. It is evident from his constant allusions to Athens that he knew it well, and must have lived there.

So much may be reasonably taken as certain. Beyond it we know very little; there is a large field for conjecture, and scholars have not hesitated to expatiate in it. If Herodotus was banished from Halicarnassus for political reasons, it is probable that he was a man of some standing in his birth-place. The unquestioned fact that he travelled far makes it likely that he was well-to-do. But his history, full as it is to the brim of evidences of travel, is never (except in an occasional phrase, "I have myself seen," and the like) autobiographical; and we know nothing, from any actual statement of the historian's own, of the date of his various visits to the countries which he describes. Probably they were spread over a considerable part of his life. All that can be said is that he must have visited Egypt after 460 B.C., and may have been before that date in Scythia. Nothing else can be asserted; we only know that at some time or other Herodotus travelled not only in Greece and the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call

¹ Suidas.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the Near East He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor, Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia, and the northern coast of the Black Sea Within these limits, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἀστέα καὶ νόον ἔγνω But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book, and the story of Darius' subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken, but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book, it is the historian's practice, as he himself says, to introduce — ποσθύκας, additions, whenever anything even

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides, a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks, which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and digressions, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea. Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole."¹

That a narrative so comprehensive in its nature—dealing with so great a variety of subjects, and drawn from sources so miscellaneous—should contain much which cannot be regarded as serious history, is only to be expected. It is impossible to generalise where popular belief and ascertained fact, hearsay and ocular evidence are blended, "the historical value of the matter found in Herodotus' work varies not merely from volume to volume, or from book to book, but from paragraph to paragraph, from sentence to sentence, from line to line. Every separate story, every individual statement is to be tried on its own merits."² Many critics have not taken the trouble

¹ How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*

² R. W. Macaulay, *Herodotus II-II*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants. This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, fortunately, be considered extinct. Modern research, which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions. It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally recognised that the most stringent application of historical and critical methods to the text of Herodotus leaves the work irremovably and irreplaceably at the head of European prose literature, whether in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity of history. But most scholars must now agree that even from the historical standpoint the world would have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and opinions falls within the field of history. Where Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often of supreme interest as indicating contemporary thought, which he not only summarises but criticises as well. His geography and his meteorology are representative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived at truth (*naturally*) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier con-

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

ceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east.¹ But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the *oratio obliqua* is maintained throughout the narrative.

¹ But the Bahr al Ghazal, a large branch of the Nile, does flow approximately W. to E.; and he may have meant this.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὁ φειλω λέγει τὰ λεγόμενα, —ιθεσθαί γε μὴν παιτάτασιν οὐκ ὁ φειλω (Bk. II); τοῖσι μὲν νῦν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίωι λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεώ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιθαίσται ἔμοι δὲ παρὰ τάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέεται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἱκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω (II. 123), "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me" In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

Some harm, moreover, has been done to Herodotus' reputation by the tendency of modern languages to alter the meaning of derived words. Herodotus repeats *μῆθοι*. Now a *μῆθος* is simply a tale, with no implication of falsity, it may just as well be true as not. But when we say that Herodotus repeats *myths*, that is an altogether different matter, myth and mythical carry the implication of falsehood, and Herodotus is branded as a dupe or a liar, who cannot be taken seriously as an authority for anything.

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus' "malignity" only establishes his own Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus' praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself, and failing necessary support *ab extra*, they can only assert the *a priori* improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them, but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us Nor is there any justification for depreciating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun's course is affected by the wind

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom, for the most part, his *sources* are included

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

under "what he has heard", he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical, personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events, they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,—as in Euripides, nay, as even in the comparatively matter-of-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides, it is the super-human above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments".¹ To θεῖν is always working, whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polykrates, Cambyses, the fall of Troy—all are illustrations of a

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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¹ Macan, *op. cit.*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

divine ordering of human affairs; indeed the central subject of the story—the *débâcle* of the vast Persian expedition against Hellas—exemplifies the maxim that ὑβρίς εἰ πολλῶν ἐπερπλησθῆ μάταν | ἀκρότατον εἰσαναβᾶσ' | ἀπότομον ὄρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν¹. History thus written is a means to moral edification; and Herodotus may not be above the suspicion of twisting the record of events so as to inculcate a moral lesson. Such predispositions make history more dramatic and more interesting, but those may be excused who hold that they militate against strict accuracy.

The dialect in which Herodotus writes is Ionic, the oldest literary dialect of Greece; but he also makes use of many words and forms which are commonly associated with the literature of Attica. When therefore Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him τῆς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανών, this must refer rather to his pre eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the "purity" of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμιγμένη and ποικίλη.² Perhaps Herodotus' language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and "Old Attic" appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From what ever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator's difficulties.

¹ Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 874-7

² Hermogenes, *περὶ γένεων*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

II

Among comparatively recent books the following will be of especial value to the reader of Herodotus: J. W. Blakesley's edition (text and notes), H. Stein (text and German notes), G. Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus* (translation, notes, and copious appendix); R. W. Macan's *Herodotus IV-VI and VII-IX* (text and notes), W. W. How and J. Wells' *Commentary on Herodotus* (notes and appendix), Hude's Clarendon Press edition (text and *apparatus criticus*), Grote's and Bury's Histories of Greece.

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein, in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of κ and ο, and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in os where they are familiar and traditional. Where place names have a well known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that, for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"Athenae" and "Thebae"; but I write "Carchedon" and "Taras," not "Carthage" and "Tarentum." This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably an inconsistent, method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the "general reader" may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

IT was by their conquest of Lydia that the Persians were first brought into contact with the Greeks. Hence it is necessary to Herodotus' plan to trace the history of the line of Lydian kings which ended with Croesus, this, with many attendant digressions, occupies chapters 1-44 of Book I. On the same principle, the history of the Medes and Persians, and the early life of Cyrus himself, must be narrated (ch. 45-140). Then follows the story of Cyrus' dealings with the Greeks of Asia Minor (ch. 140-177). The rest of the book is concerned with the wars of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae, a descriptive digression on Babylonian civilisation naturally forming a part of this section.

Cyrus, killed in battle by the Massagetae, was succeeded by his son Cambyses, and Cambyses, soon after the beginning of his reign, resolved to attack Egypt. This resolve gives the cue for Herodotus' memorable digression on the history and customs of that country.

The second book falls into two parts. The first

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

is the portrayal of the Nile valley and its inhabitants (ch 1-98), the second gives a history of the Egyptian kings. The whole book—a strange medley of description and conjecture, history and fable—has, in so far as it is descriptive of present things, the supreme merit of a collection of pictures drawn by an eyewitness. Herodotus' travels seem to have been mostly in Lower Egypt. But he knows also the upper valley of the Nile, and apparently has travelled as far as Assuan, his record, apart from the charm of the narrative, has an enduring interest as the earliest and for many centuries the only literary source of our knowledge of the country.

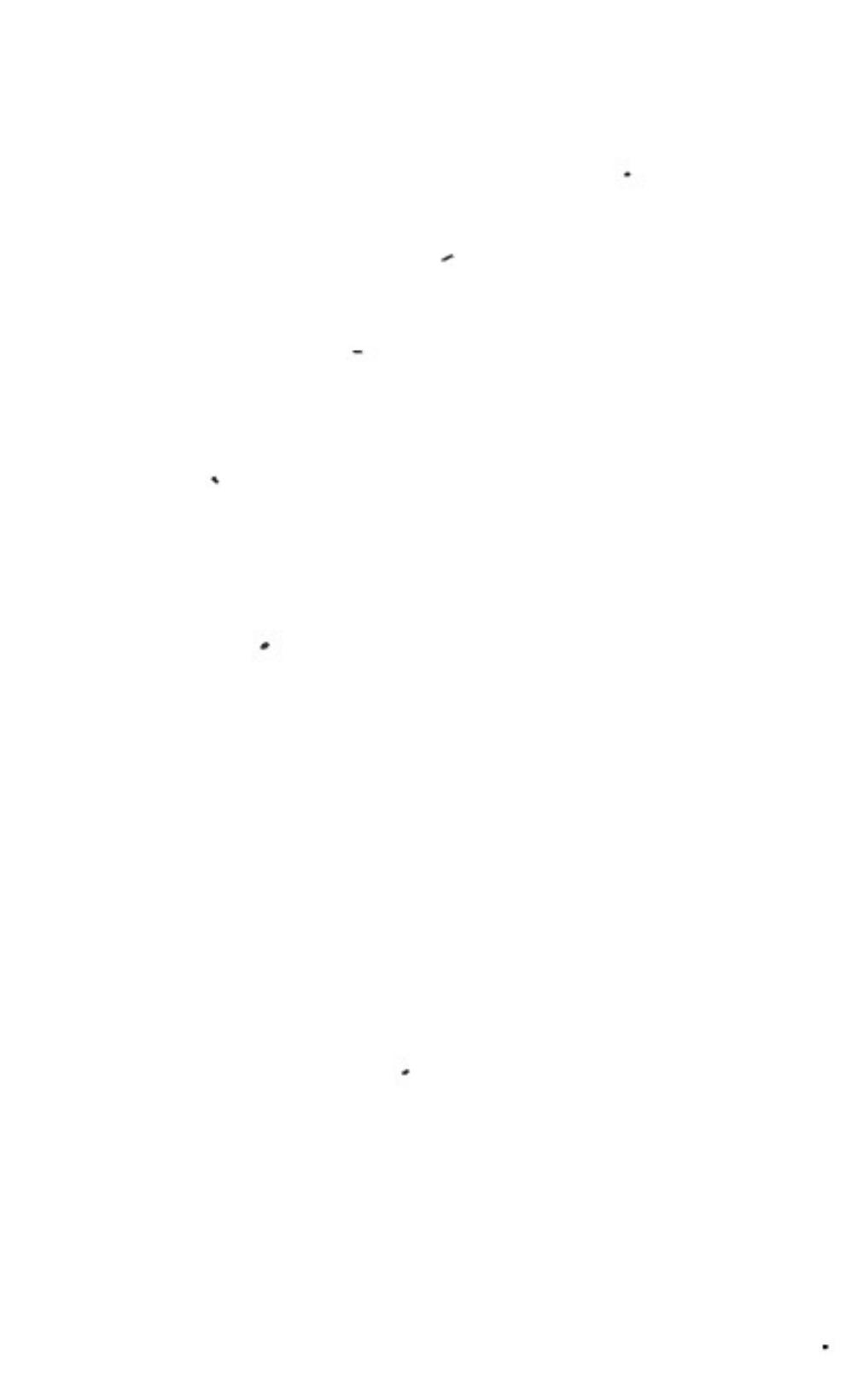
But a clear distinction must be drawn between the descriptive and the historical chapters.

It is not likely that Herodotus is inaccurate in describing what he has seen. But, for his Egyptian chronicles, he has had to rely on what was told him, certainly through the medium of interpreters and probably in many cases by informants whose own knowledge was limited and inexact. Here, as usual, he safeguards himself against the charge of uncritical credulity by showing that he repeats the tale as told to him without guaranteeing its truth. It is very clear, however, that the impressions of history given to him are exceedingly misleading, at least for the long period before the twenty sixth or Saite dynasty. His chronicle is full of errors of nomenclature and chronological sequence, and is made to cover far too long a period of time. Our knowledge of the early

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

rulers of Egypt rests, firstly, on evidence supplied by Egyptian monuments ; secondly, on what remains to us (though in an epitomised and imperfect form) of the chronicle of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who in the third century B.C. compiled a list of the kings of his country. Herodotus is repeatedly at variance with both these sources of information. In a brief introduction it is impossible to multiply proofs, or even to summarise the difficulties which beset students of these abstruse matters, it is enough to remember that "for Egyptian history in the strict sense chapters 99 to 146 are valueless"¹. These deal with the dynasties preceding 663 B.C., and covering in fact some 2700 years. Herodotus gives them a far longer duration, apparently he was shown a list of Egyptian rulers, and calculated the united lengths of their reigns by assuming one generation, or thirty years, for each king. So rough and ready a method of calculation could lead to no true conclusion, and it is wholly invalidated by the undoubted fact that many of the reigns named in the list were contemporaneous.

¹ How and Wells, *op. cit.* the reader is referred to their Commentary for a discussion of these matters.



HERODOTUS

BOOK I

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

A

1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἡδε, ώς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοιστι.

Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τὴν διάδεινην θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλῆσι μακρῆσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Λίγυπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. τὸ δὲ Ἀργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἀπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἕλλαδι καλεομένη χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἀργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡ ἔκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἣς ὑπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναικας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα τὸ δέ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλλητες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν

HERODOTUS

BOOK I

1. WHAT Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.

The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red,¹ and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians then came, as I say, to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day from their coming, their wares being now well-nigh all sold, there came to the sea shore among many other women the king's daughter, whose name (according to Persians and Greeks alike) was Io, the daughter of Inachus. They

¹ Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.

Ίναχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νέος ὥρεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὄρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλησι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέαν οἰχεοθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Λίγύπτου.

2. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς "Ελληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρώτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἐλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦ ομα ἀπηγῆσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινικῆς ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶησαν δὲ ἀν οὗτοι Κρῆτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἵσα πρὸς ἵσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα "Ἐλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ υῆς ἐς Αἴλαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τάλλα τῶν εἴνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βισιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὧν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

3. Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεῦ μετὰ ταῦτα "Αλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναικα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἐλένην, τοῖσι "Ελλησι δύξαι πρῶ-

stood about the stern of the ship and while they bargaining for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped. Io with others was carried off, the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

2 This, say the Persians (but not the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their tale, certain Greeks (they cannot tell who) landed at Tyre in Phoenice and carried off the king's daughter Europe. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (say they) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea of the Colchians and the river Phasis¹ and when they had done the rest of the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery, and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, neither would they make any to the Colchians.

3 Then (so the story runs) in the second generation after this Alexandrus son of Priam, having heard this tale, was minded to win himself a wife out of Hellas by ravishment, for he was well persuaded that, as the Greeks had made no reparation, so neither would he. So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding

¹ This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.

τὸν πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε "Ἐλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἄρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δέ, προσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἄρπαγήν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτὸλ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἄρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἄλληλων, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τούτου "Ἐλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ή σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μέν νυν ἄρπάζειν γυναικας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοίγτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἄρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων δῆλα γὰρ δὴ στι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἀν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἄρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, "Ἐλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἴνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἱεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ "Ἐλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνηα βάρβαρα¹ οἰκηιεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ "Ἐλληνικὸν ἥγηνται κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εύρισκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἄρχην τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ιοῦς οὐκ ομολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες οὐ γὰρ ἄρπαγῆ σφέας χρησαμέΐους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἰγαίου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ

¹ Θεοα [Βάρβαρα] Stein

that Helen should be restored and atonement made for the rape; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the rape of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation of others, yet had made none themselves, nor given up the plunder at request.

4 Thus far it was a matter of mere robbery on both sides. But after this (the Persians say) the Greeks were greatly to blame, for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. "We think," say they, "that it is wrong to carry women off but to be zealous to avenge the rape is foolish. Wise men take no account of such things for plainly the women would never have been carried away, had not they themselves wished it. We of Asia regarded the rape of our women not at all, but the Greeks, all for the sake of a Lacedæmonian woman, mustered a great host, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies." The Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign nations that dwell in it, Europe and the Greek race they hold to be separate from them.

5 Such is the Persian account of the matter. In their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force. She had intercourse in Argos with the captain

Αργεὶ ἐμίσγετο τῷ γαυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἦσαν, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὗτω δὴ ἐθελοιτὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσα ὡς ἀν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέω ως οὗτω ἵ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἵδι αὐτὸς πρώτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἕργων ἐς τὸν "Ελληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ λόγου, ὅμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἔμεν ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὑδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῷντῷ μένονσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὅμοίως.

6. Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς "Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ, δις ρέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμού ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος δὲ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἐλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες "Ἐλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐδὲ πρεσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὗτω περιῆλθε, ἐσῦσα Ἡρα-

of the ship. then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord

These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my own part, I will not say that his or that story is true, but I will name him whom I myself know to have done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, and so go forward with my history, and speak of small and great cities alike. For many states that were once great live now become small and those that were great in my time were small formerly. Knowing therefore that human prosperity ever continues in one stay, I will make mention like of both kinds.

6 Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Cappadocia, and issues northward into the sea called Maeotis. This Croesus was as far as we know the first foreigner who subdued Greeks and took tribute of them, and won the friendship of others,—the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Carians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. Before the reign of Croesus all Greeks were free from the Scythian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subdue the cities but rather raided and pillaged them.

7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to

ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυνιγήν; ἀμα δὲ κιθῶι
ἐκδυομένῳ συρεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνί. πάλαι
δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀθρώποισι ἔξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μαν-
θάνειν δεῖ. ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἔστι, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ
ἔωντοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων
γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι
ἀνόμων."

9. "Ο μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρω-
δέων μή τι οἱ εἴς αὐτῶν γένηται κακόι, ὁ δ' ἀμεί-
βετο τοῖσιδε. "Θάρσεε, Γύνη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε
ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος¹ λέγω λόγου τόνδε, μήτε
γυναικα τὴν ἐμήν, μὴ τέ τοι ἔξ αὐτῆς γένηται
βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω
ὡστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ
γάρ σε ἐν τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὅπισθε τῆς
ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω, μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα
παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐν κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ
ἀγγοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἴματίων
κατὰ ἐν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ'
ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὔνην κατὰ
νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὄκως
μή σε ὅψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. "Ο μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν
ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρη τῆς
κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύνεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ. ἐσελθοῦσαν
δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἵματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς
δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν
κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾶ-
μιν ἔξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ

¹ πειρώμενος Stein.

is my mistress naked' with the stripping off of her tunic a woman is stripped of the honour due to her Men have long ago made wise rules for our learning, one of these is, that we, and none other, should see what is our own As for me, I fully believe that your queen is the fairest of all women, ask not lawless acts of me, I entreat you'

9 Thus speaking Gyges sought to turn the king's purpose, for he feared lest some ill to himself should come of it but this was Candaules' answer "I like courage, Gyges fear not that I say this to put you to the proof, nor that my wife will do you any harm I will so contrive the whole business that she shall never know that you have seen her I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and set you behind the open door, and after I have entered, my wife too will come to her bed There is a chair set near the entrance of the room on this she will lay each part of her raiment as she takes it off, and you will be able to gaze upon her at your leisure Then, when she goes from the chair to the bed, turning her back upon you do you look to it that she does not see you going out through the doorway

10 As Gyges could not escape, he consented Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her, and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried

άνδρὸς οὗτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὗτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἔχοντα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆγαι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ώρα πιστοὺς ἔόντας ἐωντῷ, ἐτούμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. οὐδὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῷ πρηχθέντῳ ἐπίστασθαι ἥλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἐλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “ιῦν τοι δυῶν ὄδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληήν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, η ἀυτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθησκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἀν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἵδης τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἡτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, η σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” οὐδὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἵκετευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίη ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. οὐκων δὴ ἐπειθε, ἀλλ’ ώρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην η τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι η αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. “ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἔθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.” η δὲ ὑπολαβόντα ἔφη “έκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου η ὄρμη ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ η ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.”

out nor let it be seen that she had perceived aught, for she had it in mind to punish Candaules; seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado, that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slay his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."

12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Paros who lived about the same time.

13. So he took possession of the sovereign power, and was confirmed therein by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians were much angered by the fate of Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges and the rest of the people came to an agreement that if the oracle should ordain him to be king of the Lydians, then he should reign: but if not, then he should render back the kingship to the Herachidae. The oracle did so ordain: and Gyges thus became king. Howbeit the Pythian priestess declared that the Herachidae should have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation: an utterance of which the Lydians and their kings took no account, till it was fulfilled.

14. Thus did the Mermnidæ rob the Herachidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of

13. Ός δὲ ἡρτυσαν τὴν ἐ-ιβούληρ, ρικτὸς γειομένης (οὐ γάρ ἔμετίστο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀταλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἕσσε ἡ αὐτὸς ἀ-ολωλέιαι ἡ Καιδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν Θάλαμον τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ μιν ἐκείνῃ, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρῃ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀ-ανομέιον Καιδαύλεω ὑ-εκδύς τε καὶ ὑποκτείνεις αὐτὸν ἐσχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὴν βασιληήν τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τοι αὐτὸν χρόιον γειόμενος ἐν ἴώμῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐτεμνήσθη¹

13. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληήν καὶ ἐκρατύιθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου ὡς γάρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐτοιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω τάθος καὶ ἐν σπλοιστὶ ήσαι, συνέβησαν ἐς τῶντὸ οἵ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μῆ, ἀποδοῦναι ὅπιστα ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὗτω Γύγης τοσοῦτο μέντοι εἴπε η Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὗτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέτεμψε ἀιαθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἀπλεγτον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

¹ Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐτεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious

12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Paros who lived about the same time.

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14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of

gold : among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents¹ and stand in the treasury² of the Corinthians : though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whercon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is ; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicatory.

15. As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna ; and he took the city of Colophon. But he did nothing else great in his reign of thirty-eight years ; I will therefore say no more of him, and will speak rather of Ardys the son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus, and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the citadel.

16. Ardys reigned for forty-nine years and was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years, and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, who waged war against Darius' descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon),

¹ The "Attic" talent had a weight of about 100 lbs av. 12 denarii, the "Aeginetan" of about 12¹ lbs.

² Many Greeks dedicated their offerings at Delphi, and when these offerings were deposited,

κτισθεῖσαι εἰλε, ἡ Κλαζομείας τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀ—δ
μέρι· οὐτοί τοίτων οὐκ ὡς ἥθελε ἀ—ηλλαξε, ἀλλὰ
προσ—ταῖσας μεγάλων ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀτεδίξατο
ἔωι ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ὑξια—ηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Τούτοις οὐδέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμειος τοῖς
τύλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτελαύτων γάρ ἐτο—
λιύρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπον τοιῷδε ὅκως μὲν εἴη
ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἄδρος, τηι ικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν
στρατιὴν ἐσπρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ
πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γνιπικηίου τε καὶ ἀιδρηίου
ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀτίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τα—
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐιετίμτρη
οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕπει δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάιαι· ὁ
δὲ τά τε δέι δρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως
διαφθείρειε ἀπαλλάσσετο ὅπίσω τῆς γὰρ θαλάσ—
σης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ
εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέ—
βαλλε ὁ Λυδος τῶνδε εἴη εκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν
ὅρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ εργάζεσθαι οἱ
Μιλήσιοι, αὐτος δὲ ἐκείνων ἔργαζομένων ἔχοι τι
καὶ σύνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων

18 Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐτολέμεε ἔτεα ἑνδεκα, ἐν
τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφασια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο,
ἐν τε Λιμενῆι χωρῆς τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων
καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ τὰ μέν νυν ἔξ ἔτεα τῶν
ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἄρχε, ὁ καὶ
ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρα—
τιήν Σαδυάττης οὗτος γαρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν
συνάψας τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἔτέων τὰ ἐπόμεια
τοῖσι ἔξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, δις
παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδηλωται
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα—

κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ
μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ώς ἡθελε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ
προσπταίσας μεγάλως ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο
ἔων ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολεμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν
πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρος ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπο-
λιορκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ὅκως μὲν εἴη
ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσεβαλλε τὴν
στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δε ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ
πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου
ώς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τα
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὗτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη
οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕα δε κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι· δ
δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τον λαρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως
διαφθείρειε ἀπαλλάσσετο ὅπίσω τῆς γὰρ θαλάσ-
σης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεου, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ
εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὺ κατέ-
βαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἴς σκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν
ὅρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἔργαζεσθαι οἱ
Μιλήσιοι, αὐτος δὲ ἐκείνων ἔργαζομένων ἔχοι τι
καὶ σί εσθαι ἐσβάλλων

18 Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐτολέμεε ἔτεα ἔνδεκα, ἐν
τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφασια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο,
ἐν τε Λιμενηίῳ χωρῃς τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμέιων
καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ τὰ μέν νυν ἔξ ἔτεα τῶν
ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὃ καὶ
ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μ-λησιην τὴν στρα-
τιήν Σαδυάττης οὔτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν
συνύψας τὰ δὲ τέντε τῶν ἔτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα
τοῖσι ἔξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς
παραδεξάμειος, ώς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδηλωται
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμοι προσεῖχε ἐντεπ-

and invaded the lands of Chzomenie. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable.

17 He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was the manner in which he attacked and laid siege to Miletus: he sent his invading army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes bass and treble, when the crops in the land were ripe and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, the country dwellings he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore off their doors, but let them stand unharmed, but the trees and the crops of the land he destroyed, and so returned whence he came, for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no avail for his army to besiege their city. The reason why the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this—that the Milesians might have homes whence to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste.

18 In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befel the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sadyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war, for the following five the war was waged by Sadyattes son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried

μέιως τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδημοί Ἰωιωι τὸν τολεμαν τοῦτοι συιε—ελαφρυιοι ὅτι μὴ λίοι μοῦνοι οὔτοι δε τὸ ὄμοιον αιτα—οδιδοι τε εἰ μιωρεον καὶ γαρ δη τρο—εροι οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι λιοισι τὸι τρὸς Ἐριθραιου, τολεμον συι διῆι εικαι

19 Τῶ δε δυωδεκατοι ἔει ληιου ἐμτι—ραμειου ὑ—ο τῆισ στρατιῆισ συι ηνείχθη τι τοιοι δε γει ἐσθαι —ρῆγμα ως ἀφθη —ιχιστα τὸ ληιοι, ἀι ἐμω βιωμενον ἄψα—ο νηοῦ Ἀθηιαιης ἐτικλησιν Ἀσ—σησίηρ, ἀφθεις δε ο νηὸι λατεκαυθη και τὸ παραυτίκα μει λόγος οὐδεις ἔγειετο μετὰ δε τῆισ στρατιῆισ ἀπικομένης ἐς Σαρδιε ἐισησηε ο Ἀλυατ τηι μακροτερηι δέ οι γιι ομένης τῆισ ιουσου τέμπει ἐς Δελφους θεοτρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβου λευσαιτός τευ, εἴτε και αιτῷ ἔδοξε τέμψαιτα τὸν θεον επειρέσθαι περι τῆισ ιουσου τοῖσι δε ή Πιθιη ἀπικομενοισι ἐς Δελφους οὐκ ἔφι χρήσειν πριν ή τον νηὸν τῆισ Ἀθηιαιης ἀιορθωσασι, τον ἐιέπρησαν χωρης τῆισ Μιλησιης ἐν Ἀσσησῳ

20 Δελφῶι οίδα εγω οῦτω ακουσας γενέσθαι Μιλήσιοι δε ταδε τροστιθεῖσι του—οισι, Περιαι δρον τον Κυψελου ἔοντα Θρασυβουλω τῷ το—ε Μιλήτου τυραι εύοντι ξεώνοι ἐς τὰ μαλιστα, πυθομενον το χρηστηριον το τῷ Ἀλυαττη γειό μενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειτεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι τροειδως προς τὸ ταρεον βουλευηται

21 Μιλήσιοι μέν ιυν οῦτω λεγουσαι γενέσθαι Ἀλυάττης δέ, ως οι ταῦτα εξαγγελθη, αὐτίκα ἔ—εμτε κήρυκα εις Μιλητον βουλομενος στονδῆς ποιήσασθαι Ορασυβουλω τε και Μιλησιοισι χρόνον δσον ἄν τον νηὸν οἰκοδομη ὃ μεν δη

it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves, for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythreans.

19 In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos¹ and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick, and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone's counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

20 Thus far I know the truth, for the Delphians told me. The Milesians add to the story, that Periander son of Cypselus, being a close friend of Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learnt what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes and sent a despatch to tell Thrasybulus, so that thereby his friend should be forewarned and make his plans accordingly.

21 Such is the Milesian story. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, straightway he sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his building of the temple. So the envoy went to

¹ A small town or village near Miletus.

ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σιφέωις προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγοι, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ 'Αλυάττης μέλλοι ποιῆσαι, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δοσος ἦν ἐν τῷ αἴστεῖ σῖτος καὶ ἔωντοῦ κπὶ ἴδιωτικός, τούτου πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημῆνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρῆσθαι ἐς ἄλληλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῷδε εἶνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείησι ἔοιτας ἀγγείλῃ 'Αλυάττης τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἑκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σύρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγέρετο ἢ διαλλαγῇ. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ 'Αλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἵσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἥκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἣ τε διαλλαγὴ σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ὧ τε ξείνους ἄλληλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ 'Αθηναίη οἰκοδόμησε ὁ 'Αλυάττης ἐν τῇ 'Ασσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον 'Αλυάττη ὥδε ἔσγε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθῳ· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (όμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἔξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον,

Miletus But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan. he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he should give the word.

22 The intent of his so doing and commanding was, that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens making merry, he might bring word of it to Alyattes and so it besell The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he was charged by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis, and this, as far as I can learn, was the single reason of the reconciliation For Alyattes had supposed that there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery, but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations, so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alyattes built not one but two temples of Athene at Askesos, and recovered of his sickness Such is the story of Alyattes war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians

23 Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin This Arion was a

ἔόντα κιθαριδὸν τῶν τότε ἔόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ιῆμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσατά τε καὶ δορμάσατα καὶ διδάξατα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρῆματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὅπιστα ἐς Κορινθον ἀπικέσθαι, ὅρμασθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Γάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρῆματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρῆματα μέν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὕκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὡς ἀν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ. ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὗτα δοκέοι, περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἔδωλίοισι ἀείσαται ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἔωντὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γάρ ιδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἄριστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἔδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν δρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῆψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔωντὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἔξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα

lyre player second to none in that age, he was the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb¹ which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

¶ Thus then, the story runs for the most part he lived at the court of Periander, then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras.² But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life, but the sailors would not listen to him, he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing, and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern midships, Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strun,"³ and at its close threw himself without more ado into the sea, clad in his robes. So the crew sailed away to Corinth, but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Tarentus. There he

¹ The dithyramb was a kind of dance music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

² Tarantum.

³ The "strun" was a high pitched (and apparently very well known) song or hymn in the art of Arion.

δὲ αἰτὸν χωρίειν ἐς Κόρυθοι σῖ. τὴν σκεπῆ, καὶ
ἀ-ικόμεναι ἀ-γγέεσθαι τὰς τὸ γερῦ ὁσ. Περὶ
αἰχροι δὲ ἴ-ο ἀ-ιστίης Ἀρίοι εἰ μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ
ἔχειν οἵ-εαρη μετιέ-α, ἢν τενδ δὲ ἔχει τῶι
-ορθμέων. ἡς δὲ ἄρα τασσαὶ αὐτοῖς, κλη
θέτας ιστορέεσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιεν -ερὶ Ἀρίοις.
φαμένων δὲ ἔκεινων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς τερὶ Ἰταληὶ¹
καὶ μη εἰν -ρήσσοι-α λέ-οιεν ἐν Ταραντῃ, ἐ-ι-
φονῆι αἱ σφι τὸν Ἀρίοια εἰσ-ερ ἔξε-ήδησε
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ-λαγύτας οἱ ε ἔχει ἔτι ελεγχομένοις
ὑριέεσθαι. ταῦτα μέν τοι Κορίθιοι τε καὶ
Λέσβιοι λέγονται, καὶ Ἀρίοις ἔστι ἀνάθημα
χαλκεον οὐ μέγα ἵτι Ταιάρῳ, ἐ-ι δελφῖοις
ἐτέων ἀνθρω-ος.

25. Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν τρὸς Μιλησίους
τόλεμον διει είκας μετέτειτα τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας
ἔτεα ἑττὰ καὶ τεντήκοντα. ἀ-έθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγῷ
τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς
Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑτοκρη-
τηρίδιοι σιδήρεοι κολλητόι, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάν-
των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκον τοῦ
Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦτος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἔξεῦρε

26 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἔξεδέξατο
τὴν βασιληήν Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐών
ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήιων
πρωταῖσι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ
Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀ-έθεσαν τὴν
πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔξαψαντες ἐκ τοῦ ηγοῦ
σχοινίου ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἡ τότε ἐτολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ
ηγοῦ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι

landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Periander, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras; when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

25. So Alyattes the Lydian, having finished his war with the Milesians, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi—and this was a thank-offering for his recovery—of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. This is the most notable among all the offerings at Delphi, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only man of that age who discovered how to weld iron.

26. After the death of Alyattes Croesus his son came to the throne,¹ being then thirty-five years of age. The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged. These

¹ Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.

HERODOTUS

έπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἔκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζοις παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἑλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. ἔόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην. “Ω βασιλεῦ, νησιώται ἵππου συννέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν “Αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι.” τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “Ω βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ή, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθαντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;” κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἰωσι ἔιεινήν συνεθῆκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμ-

were the first whom Croesus attacked, afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, each on its separate indictment. He found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very paltry grounds of offence.

27 Then, when he had subdued and made tributary to him all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders, but when his preparations for shipbuilding were ready, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis, and being asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer "King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, with intent to march against you to Sardis." Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said "Would that the gods may put it in the minds of the island men to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" Then the other answered and said "King, I see that you earnestly pray that you may catch the islanders riding horses on the mainland, and what you expect is but natural. And the islanders, now they have heard that you are building ships to attack them therewith, think you that they pray for aught else than that they may catch Lydians on the seas, and thereby be avenged on you for having enslaved the Greeks who dwell on the mainland?" Croesus was well pleased with this conclusion, for it seemed to him that the man spoke but reasonably, so he took the advice and built no more ships. Thus it came about that he made friends of the Ionian islanders.

28 As time went on, Croesus subdued well nigh

μένων σχεδόν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς "Λλιον, -ο-προῦ
οἰκημένων -λίγη γὰρ Κιλίκαι καὶ Λικίων τοὺς
ἄλλους πάντας ὑπερέχει κα-παστρεύμενος
ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε. Λυδοί, Φιρύγες, Μυσοί,
Μαριαιδνιοί, Χάλιβες, Παφλαγόες, Θρίκες οἱ
Θυιοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κάρες, Ἰωιες, Δωριέες,
Λιολέες, Πάρμφυλοι¹ κατεστραμμένοι δὲ τούτων
καὶ προστεικτωμένοι Κροῖσον Λιδοῖσι, 29 ἀ-ικ-
έονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζοίσας -λούτῳ ἄλλοι τε
οἱ τάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλαδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτοι
τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανοι ἔόντες, ὡς ἔκαστος αὐτῶν
ἀτικι ἔοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀτὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, δις
Ἀθηναῖοις τόμοις κελεύσασι τοιησας ἀτεδήμησε
ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης τρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, πα-
δὴ μή τια τῶν νόμων ἀγκασθῆ λῦσαι τῶν
ἔθετο αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοι τε ἤσαν αὐτὸς τοιησας
Ἀθηναῖοι ὄρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατέλχοντο
δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι τομοίσι τοὺς ἀν σφι Σόλων
θῆται.

30. Λύτῶν δὴ ὡν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδη
μήσας ὁ Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ
Ἀμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις ταρὰ Κροῖσον
ἀπικομενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπο
τοῦ Κροῖσον μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτη ἥ τετάρτη
κελεύσαντος Κροῖσον τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες
περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκυνσαν
πάντα ἔόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ δλβια θεησάμενον
δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ
καιρον ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε "Ξεῖνε
Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπίκται

¹ εἰσι . Πάρμφυλοι and καὶ Λυδοῖσι bracketed by Stein

all the nations west of the Halys and held them in subjection, except only the Cilicians and Lycaons the rest, Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thymrians and Bithynians (who are Thracians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians, were subdued and became subjects of Croesus like the Lydians, and Sardis was at the height of its wealth 29 There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived, in this or that manner, and among them came Solon of Athens he, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, left his home for ten years and set out on a voyage to see the world, as he said This he did, lest he should be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not repeal them, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by such laws as Solon should make

30 For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it, and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him "Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of

τολλὸν, καὶ σοφίης εὗκει¹ τῆς σῆρς καὶ -λάγης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆγε -ολλὴ θεωρίης εὗκει ἐ-ελήλυθας· οὐδὲν διὰ ἐ-ειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐτῆλθέ σε εἰ -πα ηδη -άι των εἰδες ὀλβιώτατον." ὁ μὲν ἐλ-ἴζωι εὖαι ἀθρόωι ὀλβιώτατος -αῦτα ἐτειρώτα· Σόλωι δὲ οὐδὲν ὑ-οθω-εύσας ἄλλὰ τῷ ἔορτι χρησάμειος λέγει "Ω βασιλεῦ, Τέλλοι· Ἀθηναῖοι." ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος -ὸ λεχθεὶ εἵρετο ἐπιστρεφέως "Κοίη δὴ κριεις Τέλλοι εὖαι ὀλβιώτατον," ὁ δὲ εἰ-ε "Τέλλῳ -οῦτο μὲν τῆς τόλιος εὐ ἥκούσης ταῖδες ισαι καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι, καὶ σφι εἰδες ἄτασι τέκια ἐκγειόμενα καὶ -άιτα παραμείαιτα τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὐ ἥκοιτι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ήμεν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμ-ροτά-η ἐτεγέιετο γειομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοισι μάχης -ρος τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ελευσῖ, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν τοιήσας τῶν τολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. Ως δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸι Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ δλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἔκεινον ιδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἰσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶτε "Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτω ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὅμοίως ησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐούσης ὄρτης τῇ "Ηρη τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ίρόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγί νοντο ἐν ὥρῃ ἐκκληιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι

¹ Stein bracelets εὗκειν

you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows" So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: "Such an one, O King," he said, "I have seen—Tellus of Athens" Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon "How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?" Solon replied: "Tellus' city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well stablished, moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour"

31 Now when Solon had roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his Solon answered "Cleobis and Biton These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show Both were prizewinners, and this story too is related of them There was a festival of Hera toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves

ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἰλκον τὴν
ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ωχέετο οὐ μήτηρ
σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομί-
σαντες ἀπίκουντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιή-
σατι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ
βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι
οἱ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον
ἢ ζώειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον
τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν βώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν
μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἵων τέκνων ἐκύρησε οὐδὲ μήτηρ
περιχαρής ἔοῦσα τῷ τε ἕργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα
ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὔχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ
Βίτωνι ταῖσι ἑωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἵ μιν ἐτίμησαν
μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν
ἄριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς
ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐνυχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ’
ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων
εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς
ἀριστῶν γενομένων.

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε
τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε "Ο ξεῖνε
Ἀθηναῖε, η δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὗτοι τοι ἀπέρ-
ριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ίδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν
ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ο Κροῖσε,
ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐδὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ
ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων
πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ¹
ιδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς
γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὐρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ
προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἔοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα
παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας
καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηγὸς μὴ γινομένου" εἰ

to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellency of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast, then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellency."

32 So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, "Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?" "Croesus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning the lot of man, well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much mislikes. For I set the limit of man's life at seventy years, in these seventy are days twenty five thousand and two hundred, if we count not the intercalary month.¹ But if every

¹ The "intercalary month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus' reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.

δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τούτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἔουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὗτοι ὡν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἄνθρωπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἴρεο με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰώνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος δλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὑ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ξάπλουτοι ἄνθρωπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εύτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εύτυχέος μοῦγον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὃ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὃ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ή εύτυχήν οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἀπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδῆς. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὑ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ δλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιος ἐστί· πρὶν δ' ἀν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῶ, μηδὲ καλέειν κω δλβιον ἀλλ' εύτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μέριν νυν ταῦτα

second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly record, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty, so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty, and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity, but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest, but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now

συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὡσπερ
 χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα,
 ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἢ δὲ ἀν-
 τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀν-
 θρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκεῖ ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γάρ
 ἔχει, ἄλλον δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὃς δ' ἀναύτων πλεῖστα
 ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἐπειτα τελευτῆσῃ εὔχαριστως
 τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ὡς
 βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ
 παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, καὶ ἀποβῆσται·
 πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὅλον ὁ θεὸς προρ-
 ρίζους ἀνέτρεψε."

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὕτως καὶ οὕτε
 ἔχαριζετο, οὕτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς
 ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ
 παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς
 χρήματος ὄρāν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἐλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ
 νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροίσον, ως εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε
 ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὅλωιώτατον.
 αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εῦδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν
 ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν
 κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες,
 τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἥν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ
 ἔτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος·
 οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἀτυς. τούτον δὴ ὡν τὸν Ἀτυν
 σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ως ἀπολέει μιν
 αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. ὃ δ' ἐπείτε ἔξηγέρθη
 καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγου ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον
 πάγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατη-
 γέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο
 πρῆγμα ἔξεπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ

no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces. One thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most, so too no single person is sufficient for himself. One thing he has, another he lacks, but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

33 So spoke Solon. Croesus therefore gave him no largess, but sent him away as a man of no account, for he thought that man to be very foolish who disregarded present prosperity and bade him look rather to the end of every matter.

34 But after Solon's departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men. Presently, as he slept, he was visited by a dream, which foretold truly to him the evil which should befall his son. He had two sons, one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was in every way fair pre-eminent over all of his years. The dream then showed to Croesus that Atys should be smitten and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, when he awoke and considered the dream with himself, was greatly affrighted by it, and first he made a marriage for his son, and moreover, whereas Atys was won to lead the Lydian armies, Croesus now would no suffer him to go out on any such enterprise, while

ποιέσθοι μὲν κακὸι οὐδέρ, ἔπασχοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἐλεγον τάδε. “Ω βασιλεῦ, ὃς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀρεφάγη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὧν προσδεόμεθά σεν τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύτας συμπέμψοι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτει· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ιοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης.”

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὸς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδα σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. “Ω πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενιγαιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀπόκλησας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ σμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἴναι, κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικὶ; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὧν σὺ ἡ μέτες ἱέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἡ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείρω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτα ποιεόμενα.”

him but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields, for all our attempts, we cannot kill him, now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him" Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them "Say no more about my son I will not send him with you he is newly married and that is his present business But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast."

37 So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians, and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, ' Father, said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown, but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or evil spirit With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market place? What will the men of the city think of me and what my new wedded wife With what manner of man will she think that she dwells Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt or show me by reasoning that what you say is untrue before we

38. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. “Ω παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά μοι ὅψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρένης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὧν τὴν ὅψιν ταύτην τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἰς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἔτερον διεφθαρμένου τὴν ἀκοήν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι.”

39. Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. “Συγγνώμη μὲν ὡς πάτερ τοι, ἴδοντι γε ὅψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιον ἔστι φράξειν. φῆσ τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρένης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ύδος δὲ κοῦαι μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἴπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τενὸς τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπείτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἥμīν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτερ με.”

40. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος “Ω παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὧν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετίημι τε σὲ ιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.”

41. Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα “Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. “Ἄδρηστε, ἔγώ σε συμφορῆ πεπληγμένου ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὄνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὧν (ὁφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ πρωτοιῆσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς

38 "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you, no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

39 "Father, the youth replied, "none can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision, but it is my right to show you this which you do not perceive, and wherein you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron, but has a boar's tusk? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be slain by a tusk or some other thing belonging to a boar, you had been right in acting as you act, but no, it was to be a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, suffer me to go."

40 Croesus answered, "My son, your judgment concerning the dream does somewhat overpersuade me, and being so convinced by you I change my purpose and permit you to go to the chase."

41 Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defrauding all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefit's

σὲ χρηστοῖσι με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδὸς σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρῆστον γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὄρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὅδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι εἰπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ύμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἔστι ιέραι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι πατρώιον τε γάρ τοι ἔστι καὶ προσέτι ρώμη ύπάρχει."

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦτα ἐς ἀεθλον τοιόνδε οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῆ τοιῆδε κεχρημένοι οἰκός ἔστι ἐς ὄμηλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ιέραι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῆ τε ἀν ἰσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύσεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (όφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παιδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἴνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστίησειν."

43. Τοιούτοισι ἐπείτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἥισαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξηρτυμένοι λογύσι τε νεηνίστι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ δρος ἔξήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εύρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὃν τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδὸς. ὃ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἔξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσίμηνέ οἱ.

44. Ο δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογέετο δτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων

which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no rustian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son, and you are strong enough withal."

42 "O King," Adrastus answered, "had it been otherwise, I would not have gone forth on this enterprise. One so unfortunate as I should not consort with the prosperous among his peers, nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you so desire and I must do your pleasure (owing you as I do a requital of good service), I am ready to obey you in this, and for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for his coming back unharmed."

43 So when Adrastus had thus answered Croesus they went out presently equipped with a company of chosen young men and dogs. When they had come to Mount Olympus they hunted for the beast, and having found him they made a ring and threw their spears at him. Then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was smitten by the spear and fulfilled the utterance of the dream. One ran to bring Croesus word of what had been done, and came to Sardis, where he told the king of the fight and the manner of his son's end.

44 Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody

δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἔταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἔταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρίκοι πολεμιώτατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἐωսτὸν Κροῖσῷ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἐωστὸν συμφορήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνη τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολαλεκώς εἴη, οὐδέ οἱ εἴη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε "Ἄδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίτερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τασούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ""Ἐχω ὡς ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωντοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσου ἀέκων ἔξεργασαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὃς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐωστοῦ παῖδα. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἐωστοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γειόμενος φοιεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἥσυχίη τῶν ἀιθρώτων ἐγένετο τερὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀιθρώτων εἴται τῶν αὐτὸς ἤδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάξει τῷ τύμβῳ ἐωστόν.

46 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ

deed, and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names—Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he would have the god know what evil his guest had wrought him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the slayer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst foe in the man whom he sent as a protector.

45. Soon came the Lydians, bearing the dead corpse, with the slayer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself wholly into Croesus' power, holding out his hands and praying the king to slay him where he stood by the dead man: "Remember," he said, "my former mischance, and see how besides that I have undone him who purified me; indeed, it is not fit that I should live." On hearing this Croesus, though his own sorrow was so great, took pity on Adrastus and said to him, "Friend, I have from you all that justice asks, since you deem yourself worthy of death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, save in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it: rather it is the work of a god, the same who told me long ago what was to be." So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the slayer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, slew himself there by the sepulchre, seeing now clearly that he was the most ill-fated wretch of all men whom he knew.

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep

κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κιος δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν "Ἐλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἴέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὃ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰς ἐπιχειρέοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἣς ἀν ἡμέρης ὄρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὃ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἀσσα δ' ἀν ἔκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἔωυτόν. ὃ τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένου, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἔξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

sorrow for two years After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning, and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiurus and Tropionius,¹ and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians

47 And when he sent to make trial of these shrines he gave the Lydians this charge they were to keep count of the time from the day of their leaving Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was then doing, then they were to write down whatever were the oracular answers and bring them back to him Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were charged, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses

¹ That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes

Οίδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα
θαλάσσης,

καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
όδιμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἥλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἔψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἀμὲρινοῖσι κρεεσσιν,
ἥ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεοπισάσης τῆς Πιθίης
συγγραψάμενοι οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις.
ώς δὲ· καὶ ὡλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν
φερούτες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος
ἔκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.
τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· δὲ δὲ ως τὸ ἐκ
Δελφῶν ἥκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσ-
εδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν
Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἔξενρήκε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.
ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς
θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων
ἔμηχανάτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμίχανον
ἔξενρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα
κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἥψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ,
χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροῖσῳ
ἔχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου
ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι
ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἴρδον τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ
γὰρ ὡν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ
τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀφευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

Grains of sand I reckon and measure the splices of ocean,
 Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech of the silent.
 What is it now that I smell? 'tis a tortoise mightily armoured
 Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb's flesh mingled together
 Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is upon it."

48 Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went away back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to divers places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and surveyed all the writings. Some of them in no wise satisfied him. But when he heard the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering that Delphi was the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he bethought him of a device which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day, namely, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then himself boiled them in a caldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

49 Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.

50. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἵλασκετο· κτήνεα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχέλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἵματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιβῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεἶπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἔκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαννε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἔξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὑψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἔκαστον ἐλκούτα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἐλκουσταν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλίνθιών (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἴδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων Θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν ἐβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεῖ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων Θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέπις, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς

50 After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics, by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half, the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood, and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51 When these offerings were fully made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silver to the left, of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight talents and a half, and twelve minae,¹ lies in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This

¹ μένη = about 15 oz. Troy weight L.

γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἔξακοσίους· ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἡργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεον τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὄρθως λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροῖσον, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὐ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἔστι, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γινετῆριών οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροῖσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωντοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ξώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὄμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχησι ἐὸν ὄμοίως χρύσεον· τὰ ἔτει καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἵρα ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἄνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον,

bowl holds six hundred nine gallon measures for the Delphians use it for a mixing bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.¹ It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Simos, and I believe them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift, but they did not give either of the sprinkling vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

52 Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaraus, having learnt of his valour and his fate, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these lay till my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53 The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were charged by Croesus to inquire of the oracles, "Shall Croesus send an army against the Persians and shall he take to himself any allied

¹ The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.

ίντι δὲ αἰπεικόνισι οἱ τὰ ἀπεπέμψησάν οἱ Λυῖοι
ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀγαθήματα, ἔχριστο τοῖσι χρηστη-
ρίοισι λέγοντες "Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων
ἔθνεων βασιλεὺς, τομίσας τὰς μαντήια εἴαι
μοῦντα ἐν ἀθρῷ ποιστι, ὑμῖν τε ἕξια δῆρα ἔδωκε
τῶν ἔξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρυτῷ εἰ
στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἰ τινα στρατὸν
ἄνδρῶν προσθέσιτο σύμμαχον." οἵ μὲν ταῦτα
ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντήιων ἀμφοτέρων ἵε τῶντὸ
αἱ γυναικαὶ συντέλειαν, προλέγουσαι Κροῖσον, ἦρ
στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μη
καταλύσειν τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δινατωτάτους
συνεβούλευνόν οἱ ἔξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνεγειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια
ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστη-
ρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου
βασιληίην, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πινθὰ Δελφοὺς δω-
ρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα
δύο στατῆροι ἔκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ
τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροῖσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην
καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἔξειναι τῷ βουλο-
μένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος
ἔχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέ-
λαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην. ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ.
ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριάζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυ-

host. When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words "Croesus, King of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host." Such was their inquiry, and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54 When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles. So, being fully persuaded that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians with two gold staters¹ apiece, according to his knowledge of their number. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, freedom from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whosoever should wish.

55 Then Croesus after his gifts to the Delphians made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he would use it to the full, having received true answers from it, and the question which he asked in his inquest was whether his sovereignty should be of long

¹ The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty three shillings of our money.

HERODOTUS

χρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουραρχίη. ἡ δὲ Ηιθίη οἱ χρῆτές.

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἡμίορος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοισι γίνηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ-

"Ἐρμον,

φεύγειν μηδὲ μέρειν μηδὲ αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἴρει.

66. Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἐπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάιτων ἥσθι, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀιτὸν ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μῆδων, οὐδὲ ὃν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξ αὐτοῦ παύσεοθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἴστορέων τοὺς ἢν 'Ελλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔόντας προσκτήσατο φίλους, ἴστορέων δὲ εὑρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ 'Αθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὴν προκεκριμένα, ἔόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ 'Ελληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ "Ελληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν "Οσσαί τε καὶ τὸν "Ολυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ 'Ιστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς 'Ιστιαιῶτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδονὸν καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὗτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὗτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

duration To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows

"Lydian, beware of the day when a mule is lord of the Medians.

Then with thy delicate feet by the stone strewn channel of Hermus

Flee for thy life, nor abide, nor blush for the name of a craven"

56 When he heard these verses Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the Medians in place of a man, and so that he and his posterity would never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who were the mightiest of the Greeks whom he should make his friends. He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second an Hellenic people. The Pelasgian stock has never yet left its habitation, the Hellenic has wandered often and afar. For in the days of king Deucalion¹ it inhabited the land of Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaean, under Ossa and Olympus, driven by the Cadmeans from this Histiaean country it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macedonian, thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into Peloponnesus, where it took the name of Dorian.²

¹ Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend

² The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnesus are all in northern Greece

57. Ηντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἔεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἔστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶν πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροι κοτὲ ἥσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἥσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τούνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐδὺ Πελασγικὸν ἄμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γάρ δὴ οὗτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ δόμογλωσσοι οὗτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ δόμογλωσσοι· δηλοῦντες τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἱ̄τε κοτὲ τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφανεῖται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐδὺ ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄρμώμενον αὐξηται ἐς πλήθος τῶν ἔθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὡν ἐμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐδὺ βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

59. Τούτων δὴ ὡν τῶν ἔθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπινήθαντο ὁ

57 What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni¹ in the city of Creston—who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessaliam—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Phœcia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name—if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Phœcia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbours, and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell.

58 But the Hellenic stock, as to me seems clear, has ever used the same language since its beginning, yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, but few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, as I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased greatly in number while it was of foreign speech.

59 Now, of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided

¹ If these are the Etruscans then Creston may = Cortona but the whole matter is doubtful

Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰταϊκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόιον τυραινεόστος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰταϊκράτει γὰρ ἔστι ιδιώτη καὶ θεωρέοιτι τὰ Ὄλύμπια τέρας ἀγέιστο μέγα. Θύσαιτος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἵρα οἱ λεβητες ἐστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἔστις ἐμπλεοι καὶ ὄντας ἦν εὐτυρὸς ἔχεσσι καὶ ὑπερβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πρατυχῶν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἰτταϊκράτει τρῶα μὲν γυναικα μὴ ἀγεσθαι τέκνοιον ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναικα ἐκέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἔων παιᾶς, τοῦτον ἀπειτασθαι. οὐκον ταῦτα παριέσταντος Χίλωιος τείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἰταϊκράτεα γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρογήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἥργειρε τρίτην στάσιν συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιαδε. πρωματίσας ἔωντός τε καὶ ἡμίόνους ἥλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἔχθρούς, οἱ μιν ἐλαύνοι τα ἀγρὸν ἥθελησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε ταῦ δῆμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὑδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομέιη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιαν τε ἐλῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισίστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἴποντά οἱ ὅπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ

into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lyeurgus son of Aristolaides. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinues that followed him bore wooden clubs. These

HERODOTUS

οὐτοι ἄμα Πεισίστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ὑκρόπολιν.
ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναῖον, οὗτε
τιμᾶς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας θέσμια μεταλ-
λάξαι, ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔγεμε τὴν πόλιν
κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνου τῶντὸ φρονή-
σαιτες οἵ τε τοῦ Λεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ
Δικούργου ἔξελαύνουσι μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισί-
στρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραν-
νίδα οὐκω κάρτα ἐρρίζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἵ
δὲ ἔξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης ἐπ'
ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ
στάσι ὁ Λεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισίστράτῳ,
εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ
τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὄμολο-
γῆσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοισι Πεισίστράτου, μηχανῶνται
δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ
εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπει γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου
τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν καὶ
δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἥλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον
μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναῖοισι τοῖσι
πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην
μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Παιανιέι τὴν
γυνὴ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων
πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως
εὐειδῆς· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανο-
πλίη, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες
σχῆμα οἴον τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι
ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κή-
ρυκας προπέμψαντες· οἵ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· “Ω
Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν

with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60 But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not yet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cunningest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme¹ a woman called Phya, three fingers short of four cubits in stature, and for the rest fair to look upon. This woman they equipped in full armour, and put her in a chariot, giving her all such appurtenances as would make the stemliest show, and so drove into the city, heralds ran before them, and when they came into the town made proclamation as they were charged, bidding the Athenians "to give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athene

¹ Local division of Attica.

αύτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.” οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐς τε τοὺς δῆμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναικαῖναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παῖδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἴστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὖν φράξει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ή δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὄργη δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ’ ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἂμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὅπιστα τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἥγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἵτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβάλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιοι σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὐνοματίᾳ Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel." So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61 Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter—presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour; and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Eretria, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.

62. Ήξενοίς δὲ ὄρμηθέντες διὰ ἑδεκάτης ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὅπιστο, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ στρατοπέδευομένοισι οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στιώται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων πρόερεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννίς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπατότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίξοντο, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνοι λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστοντῷ δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶν ἥριταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστον, ἐς τῶντὸ συνιόντες ἀπινέονται ἐπὶ Παλληγρίδος Ἀθηναίης ἴρον, καὶ ἀντὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενοι παρίσταται Πεισίστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ακαργάς χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, ὃς οἱ προσιών χρῆ ἐν ἔξαμέτροντῷ τάδε λέγων·

“Ἐρριπταὶ δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέταστα θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.”

63. Οἱ μὲν δή οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρῆ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰ δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνουν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπουνται. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-

62 So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country demes—men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled, but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles Pisistratus' men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

“Now hath the cast been thrown and the net of
the fisher is outspread
All in the moonlight clear shall the tunny-fish
come for the taking”

63 So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired, Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to diceing and some to sleep. they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep

HERODOTUS

χνάται, δκως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδπομέροι τε εἰς· ὥναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδες ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπειπε, οἵ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πειστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπίεναι ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθῆνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυρρανίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Ναξον (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι), πρός τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν γῆσον Δῆλον καθίρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθίρας δὲ ὡδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἴροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρτε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίης.

65. Τοὺς μέν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπινθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφεύγότας καὶ ἔόντας ἡδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εύτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομάτατοι ἡσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμι-

them scattered and prevent their assembling again : he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward : they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take heart and depart each man to his home.

64. This the Athenians did ; and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, where, that his sovereignty might be well rooted, he made himself a strong guard and collected revenue both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and took as hostages the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not at once leave the city, and placed these in Naxos. (He had conquered Naxos too and given it in charge to Lygdamis.) Moreover, he purified the island of Delos according to the bidding of the oracles, and this is how he did it : he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and carried them to another part of Delos. So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens : and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land.

65. Croesus learnt, then, that such at this time was the plight of the Athenians : the Lacedaemonians, as he heard, had escaped from great calamities, and had by this time got the upper hand of the men of Tegea in their war ; for in the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were victorious in their other wars, but against Tegēa alone they met with no success. And not only so, but before this they were the worst governed of well nigh all the Greeks, having little intercourse among themselves or with strangers.

κτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὡς εἰς ομήρην. Λικούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλεύθερος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὃς ἐσῆρε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

"Ικεις ὁ Λυκόοργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν Ζητὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δῶματ' ἔχουσι. διέω ἡ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἡ αἱ θρωποι. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἐλπομαί, ὁ Λυκόοργε."

οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φρύσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν ἕνναν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιητῆσι· ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγοισι. Λυκούργου ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω, ἀδελφίδεου μὲν ἐώντοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κριήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέρουτας ἔστησε Λυκούργος.

66. Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἰρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἴα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέστονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. η δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾷ τάδε.

Thus then they changed their laws for the better — Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall, straightway the priestess gave him this response:

“ Dear to Zeus thou hast come to my well stored temple, Lycurgus,
 Dear to Zeus and to all who dwell in the courts of Olympus
 Art thou a man or a god? ‘Tis a god I deem thee,
 Lycurgus ”

Some say that the priestess moreover declared to him the whole governance of Sparta which is now established, but the Lacedaemonians themselves relate that it was from Crete that Lycurgus brought these changes, he being then guardian of Leobotes his nephew, king of Sparta. As soon as he became guardian he changed all the laws of the country and was careful that none should transgress his ordinances, and afterwards it was Lycurgus who established all that related to war, the sworn companies, and the bands of thirty, and the common meals and besides these, the ephors, and the council of elders.

66 So they changed their bad laws for good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land was good and their men were many, very soon they began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they satisfied to remain at peace but being assured that they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them this reply .

"'Αρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὗ τοι δώσω· πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔστιν, οἵ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὕτι μεγαίρω· δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσάκροτον ὄρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι."

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἥκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἔξανδρα ποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἔζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέρουντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἔργαζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἥσαν σόαι εὐ Τεγέη, περὶ τὸν υηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνέχεως αἱεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἥδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἱεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψατες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἀνθεῶν ἴλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ ὄρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὄστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ

"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great
for the giving.

Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of
acorns,—

These shall hinder thee sore Yet 'tis not I that
begrudge thee:

Lands Tegean I'll give thee, to smite with feet in
the dancing,

Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to
measure."

When this was brought back to the ears of the Lacedaemonians, they let the rest of the Arcadians be, and marched against the men of Tegea carrying fetters with them; for they trusted in the quibbling oracle and thought they would enslave the Tegeans. But they were worsted in the encounter, and those of them who were taken captive were made to till the Tegean plain, wearing the fetters which they themselves had brought and measuring the land with a line.¹ These fetters, in which they were bound, were still in my time kept safe at Tegea, where they were hung round the temple of Athene Alea.

67. In the former war, then, the Lacedaemonians were unceasingly defeated in their contest with Tegea, but in the time of Croesus, and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Sparta, the Spartans had now gained the upper hand, and this is how it came about. Being always worsted by the Tegeatae, they sent inquirers to Delphi and asked what god they should propitiate so as to gain the mastery over Tegea in war. The Pythian priestess declared that they must bring home the bones of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Being unable to discover Orestes'

¹ That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.

ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἔγινοιτο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἐπειπον αἵτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησσομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

“Εστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐις χώρῳ,
ἔνθ’ ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ’ ἐπὶ πήματι
κεῖται.

ἔιθ’ Ἀγαμεμνογίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἰσα,
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.”

ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἔξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διξήμενοι, ἐς οὐ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἔξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἵππέων αἱεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἀν ἔξιώσι ἐκ τῶν ἵππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλιγύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

68. Τούτων ὡν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐουσῆς γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἔξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου “Ἡ κου ἄν, ὡς ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἔγώ, κάρτα ἄν ἐθώσο

tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god¹ to ask of the place where Orestes lay and the priestess said in answer to their question

"There is a place, Tegea, in the level plain of Arcadia,

Where by stark stress driven twin winds are ever a blowing,

Shock makes answer to shock, and anguish is laid upon anguish

There in the nourishing earth Agamemnon's son lieth buried

Bring him, and so thou shalt be the lord of the land of thy foemen

When the Lacedaemonians heard this too, they were no nearer finding what they sought, though they made search everywhere, till at last Lichas, one of the Spartans who are called Benefactors, discovered it. These Benefactors are the Spartan citizens who pass out of the ranks of the knights, the five oldest in each year, for the year in which they pass out from the knights they are sent on divers errands by the Spartan state, and must use all despatch.

68 Lichas, then, one of these men, by good luck and cleverness found the tomb at Tegea. At that time there was free intercourse with Tegea, so, entering a smithy, he watched the forging of iron and marvelled at the work which he saw. When the smith perceived that he was much astonished, he ceased from working, and said, "Iaconian, you wonder at the working of iron, but had you seen what

¹ τὴν ἐς θεόν explained as = τὴν ἐς θεόν δόδον τὴν ἐνθεόν (= the inspired one after ἐκειρησομένους) would be an easy correction. But all MSS have ἐς θεόν

μαζεις, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιῆσασθαι, ὄρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπαπήχει· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίης μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἰδον τὸν οὐεκρόν μήκει ἵσον ἔόντα τῇ σορῷ μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὅπισω." ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὄπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὁρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὄρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὔρισκε ἔόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἔξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραξε Λακεδαιμονίοις πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἔωστοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦντο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὄστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώσατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἥδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπειπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "Ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων

I have seen you would have indeed had somewhat to marvel at. For I was making me a well in this courtyard, when in my digging I chanced upon a coffin seven cubits long. As I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than those of our time, I opened the coffin, and found within it the corpse as long as itself; I measured it, and buried it in earth again." So the smith told what he had seen; Lichas marked what he said, and argued from the oracle that this must be Orestes, reasoning that the Smith's two bellows which he saw were the winds, the anvil and hammer the shock and counter-shock, and the forged iron the anguish laid upon anguish. What led him so to guess was that the discovery of iron has been to men's hurt. Thus he reasoned, and returning to Sparta told all the matter to the Lacedaemonians. They made pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him; so he went to Tegea, where he told the smith of his misfortune, and tried to hire the courtyard from him. The smith would not consent, but at last Lichas over-persuaded him, and taking up his abode there, opened the tomb and collected the bones and went away with them to Sparta. Ever after this time the Lacedaemonians got much the better of the men of Tegea in all their battles; and they had already subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: "Croesus, King of Lydia and other

βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. "Ω Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἐλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὡν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροῖσφ γενόμενον ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξῃ τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἰχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἔδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος. Κροῖσος δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

70. Τούτων τε ὡν εἶνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἔδέξαντο, καὶ δτὶ ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἐλλήνων αἱρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸς ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζῳδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἥγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροῖσφ. οὗτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ως ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν ηνσὸν μακρῆσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτὸς δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ως ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἥλιωκέναι, ἀ-έδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἴδιώτας

nations, has sent us with this message 'Lacedaemonians' the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend, now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids, I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile. Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies, and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Ithornax¹ in Laconia, and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

70 For this cause, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, graven outside round the rim with figures, and large enough to hold twenty seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intent to make a gift of re quital to Croesus. This bowl never came to Sardis, and for this two reasons are given. the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off, but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, being too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private

¹ A mountain north east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley

δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ "Ηραιον.
τάχα δὲ ἀν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι
ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθέλησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ
μέν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὗτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροῖσος δὲ ὑμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο
στρατηὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπισας καταιρήσειν
Κύρον τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευα-
ζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας,
τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι
σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα
οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ
τάδε οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. “Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπ'
ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεσι,
οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην
ἔσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι
ἄλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς
δὲ οὐκ οἷνῳ διαχρέωνται ἄλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι, οὐ
σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.
τοῦτο μὲν δῆ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεαι,
τοῖσι γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἦν νικηθῆι,
μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλλεῖς· γευσάμενοι γάρ
τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξουνται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ
ἔσονται. Ἑγὼ μέν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ
ἐπὶ νόου ποιέουσι Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
Λυδούς.” ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον.
Πέρσησι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν
οὕτε ἀβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι
ὄνομάζονται· ἥσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν
πρότερον ἦν Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε
δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὐρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς

men, who set it up in the temple of Hera. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

71. Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, thinking to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and from the advice which he now gave won great renown among the Lydians, thus counselled him (his name was Sandanis): "O King, you are making ready to march against men who wear breeches of leather and their other garments of the same, and whose fare is not what they desire but what they have; for their land is stony. Further they use no wine, but are water-drinkers, nor have they figs to eat, nor aught else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, seeing that they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then see how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so close to them that nothing will thrust them away. For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the hearts of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Thus spoke Sandanis; for the Persians, before they subdued the Lydians, had no luxury and no comforts; but he did not move Croesus.

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median

καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἀλυς ποταμὸς, ὃς ἔει εἰς Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κελίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοῖς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ρέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρίγας παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ρέων ὕπα πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, εἰς εὐωρύμου δὲ Παφλαγόρας. οὗτος ὁ Ἀλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτύμει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς αὐτίον Κύπρου ἐν τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ὄντος πέριτε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἴνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἴμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωντοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μῆδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὥδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἶλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μῆδων Κυαξαρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὡς ἐόντας ἰκετας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐτούς, παῖδας σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλώσσαν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἱεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἱεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῆστι

¹ τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτα means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The

and Lydian empires was the river Halys; which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Mateni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand, then passing these and flowing still northwards it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off wellnigh the whole of the lower part of Asia, from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land, the length of the journey across is five days, for a man going unburdened¹

73 The reasons of Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus, for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother in law and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy, and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned

width from sea to sea of the *αβχήν* is obviously much under estimated by Hdt., as also by later writers, the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies much more than a five days march

HERODOTUS

χερσὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἢν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὄργὴν ακρος) τριγέως κάρτα περιέσπει ἀεικεῖη. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παῖδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἔώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἵκέται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἔξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἔξατέοντι Κυαξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐπαιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἵσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἔξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσὶ προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὔρου προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολὴ. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἰδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωντοῖσι γενέσθαι.

¹ All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears

empty handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and spitefully. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase, and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sardis at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74 After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years, each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.¹ So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor and I know not of the phenomenon; places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 545 B.C.

οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἤσπερ οὗτε, Σινέις εσί τε ὁ Κῖλιξ καὶ Λαζύνητος ὁ Βαζιλώτης. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπείσαντες γειέσθαι ἤσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἀποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γάρ ἔγρασαν δοῦται τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύην· Ἀστιάγει τῷ Κυαξάρεῳ παιδί· αἱ εὐ γάρ ἀναγκαῖς ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἔθελουσι συμμέρειν. ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθιτα τά πέρ τε Ἑλλῆς, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτά- μωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἄλλιήλων.

76. Τοῦτον δὴ ὡς τὸν Ἀστιάγεα Κύρος ἔόντα ἐωντοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισσῳ λόγοισι σημανέω- τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμερφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἐς τε τὰ Χρηστῆρια ἐπειπτε εἰ στρατευηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωντοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτει, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἑούστας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἐλλῆνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὄκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόνται τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὡδε ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὄκως ἀν τὸ στρατοπέδον ἴδρυμένον κατὰ νότου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα

peace Those who reconciled them were Sennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian , they it was who brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and an exchange of wedlock between them they adjudged that Alyates should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares , for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks , moreover, they cut the skin of their arms and lick each other's blood

75 This Astyages then was Cyrus mother's father, and was by him subdued and held subject for the reason which I shall presently declare Having this cause of quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians , and when a quibbling answer came he thought it to be favourable to him, and so led his army to the Persian territory When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it,—by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there , but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus This is the story As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist, Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the

ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων, καὶ αὐτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρη διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γάρ ὅπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἔστι τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ¹ ἴσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὔξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κῃ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατεύεντο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· καὶ εἴλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο, εἴλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἔόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἡντιοῦντο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἔξελαύνειν ὄρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἱωνας ἐπειράτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἱωνες μέν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώντο κατὰ τὸ ἴσχυρὸν ἀλληλιον. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὗτοι ἤγωνισατο.

77. Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἥν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἦ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθείς, ὡς

¹ [τὸ] Stein.

camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed, so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. Some even say that the ancient channel was altogether dried up. But I do not believe this, for how then did they pass the river when they were returning?

76 Croesus then passing over with his army came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies nearest to the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped, and laid waste the farms of the Syrians, and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took also all the places about it, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, and gathering to him all those who dwelt upon his way, went to meet Croesus. But before beginning his march he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be persuaded, but when Cyrus had come, and encamped face to face with Croesus, the armies made trial of each other's strength with might and main in the Pterian country. The battle was stubborn; many on both sides fell, and when they were parted at nightfall neither had the advantage. With such fortune did the two armies contend.

77 Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on

τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐ-ειράτο ἐ-ἴων ὁ Κῦρος, ἀ-τῆ-
λανις ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν τόπῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας
μὲν Λίγυ-τίους κα-ὰ τὸ ὄρκιον (ἐ-οιήσατο γάρ
καὶ τρὸς "Λμασιν" βασιλεύοντα Λίγύ-του συμ-
μαχίην τροτερον ἦ τερ τρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους),
μεταπεμψάμειος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γάρ
πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐ-ετοίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράν-
ιευε δὲ τοις χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
Λαβύνητος), ἐταγγεῖλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι
παρεῖαι ἐς χρόνον ῥῆτόν, εἰλίσας τε δὴ τούτους
καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐι ἐνωτο, τὸν
χειμῶνα παρείς, ὥμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐτὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ὑπίκετο
ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐτεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμ-
μαχίας προερέοντας ἐς τέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι
ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον
στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὃς ἵν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα
ἀπεις διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἀλτίσας μή κοτε ἄρα
ἄγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάση
ἐπὶ Σάρδις

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον
πᾶν ὄφιων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ
ἴπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες
κατήσθιον. Ιδόντες δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ
ἥν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπε θεοπρό
πους ἐς τῶν ἔξηγητέων Τελμησσέων ἀπικομέ
νοισι δε τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελ-
μησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγέ-
νετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γάρ η ὅπίσω

the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with them too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months time, and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78 Thus Croesus reasoned. Meantime it chanced that snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city, and when they appeared the horses would ever leave their accustomed pasture and devour them. When Croesus saw this he thought it to be a portent, and so it was. Forthwith he sent to the abodes of the Telmessian interpreters,¹ to inquire concerning it, but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

¹ These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. ταῦτα δέ γιγνόμενα Τελμησσοῖς is contrary to Greek usage, δέ γιγνόμενα being a substantive. Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσοῖς ταῦτα δέ γιγνόμενα.

σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἥλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἄλλοθροον προσδόκειμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τους ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες δοφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπῆλυδα. Τελμησσέες μέν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἡδη ἥλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύγοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδάν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἡ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπυγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἡ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἔξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδριότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥσαν ἵππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

80. Ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων ταῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐδὺ μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ρέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ "Τλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ" Ερμον, ὃς ἐξ ὅρεος ἰροῦ μητρὸς Διινδυμήνης ρέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς

a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself, but when they gave it Croesus was already taken

79 When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone with intent to disband his army, took counsel and perceived thereby that it was his business to march with all speed against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could again be assembled So he resolved and so he did speedily, he marched his army into Lydia and so himself came to bring the news of it to Croesus All had turned out contrariwise to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary, nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skilled in the management of horses

80 So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene¹ and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea) Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

¹ Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele

καιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη παλιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ,
 Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἵππεας
 προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα
 δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρα-
 τιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πε-
 παυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων,
 τῷ οὖν ομα νῆν "Τροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
 δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἄλλῳ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε
 γὰρ ἔστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ
 Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη
 οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακῇ
 ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενε-
 χθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἔσουνται Σάρδιες
 ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος
 περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον¹ τῆς
 ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἔδν ἄμαχόν τε
 καὶ ἀπότομον. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμ-
 μένου τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὧν δὴ Τροιάδης οὗτος ὁ
 Μάρδος ἴδων τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ
 τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην
 ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφρά-
 σθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς τε
 ἀναβεβίκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέ-
 βαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιες
 τε ἥλιώκεσσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. οἱ
 οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν
 ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἅφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθούσῃ
 εὔεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε,
 τίλλα τε ἐπιφραξόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

¹ τὸ χωρίον in brackets by Stein .

Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen about in his army to promise rewards to him who should first mount the wall. After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, all the rest being at a stand, a certain Mardian¹ called Hyrcanides essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set, for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. This was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmesians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyrcanides, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it, he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

85 I will now tell what befell Croesus himself. He had a son, of whom I have already spoken, a likely youth enough save that he was dumb. Now in his past days of prosperity Croesus had done all that he could for his son, and besides resorting to other plans he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the

¹ The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.

HERODOTUS

περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χριστομένους. οἱ δὲ Πυθίη
οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νῆπτε
Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἴὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον
ἀμφίς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.
ἀλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἡμε γὰρ τῶν τις
Περσέων ἀλλογυώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων,
Κροῖσος μέν υνν ὄρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης
συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδέ τέ οἱ διέφερε πλη-
γέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφιωνος ὡς εἶδε
ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε
φωνὴν, εἶπε δὲ "Ωνθρώπε, μὴ κτείνε Κροῖσον."
οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτο ἡδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ
αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσ-
καλδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαΐδσκα ἡμέρας πολιορκη-
θέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν
ἔωστον μεγάλην ἀρχὴν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
Πέρσαι ἥγαγον παρὰ Κύρον. ὃ δὲ συννήσας
πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν
τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δἰς ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ'
αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν υἱῷ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ὑκροθίνια
ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῳ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν
ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον
εἴναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἴνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν
πυρῆν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων
ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ

oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him :

" Lydian, of many the lord, thou know'st not the boon that thou askest.

Wish not nor pray that the voice of thy son may be heard in the palace ;

Better it were for thee that dumb he abide as aforetime ;

Luckless that day shall be when first thou hearest him speaking."

So at the taking of the fortress a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him with intent to kill him. Croesus saw him coming, but by stress of misfortune he was past caring, and would as soon be smitten to death as not ; but this dumb son, seeing the Persian coming, in his fear and his grief broke into speech and cried, " Man, do not kill Croesus !" This was the first word he uttered ; and after that for all the days of his life he had power of speech.

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him : either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related

HERODOTUS

ποιέειν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἔστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἔόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ ταῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένοι, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωόντων ὅλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενον τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρίς δυομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τους ἑρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροίσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέσοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν Κροίσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἥμαγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τὸν ἀν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγύλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν." ὡς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραξε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. λεπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλου παρεχόντων, ἐλεγε δὴ ὡς ἥλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὅλβον ἀποφλαυρίσεις οἷα δὴ εἴπας, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἰδέναι τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων η σύκη ἐς τὴν παρὰ σφίστην τοῦ Κροίσου

ταῦτα ἀπηγεεουμι, . . . : οὐδη ἀμμένης
καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀλού-
σαντα τῶν ἔρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγρόντα
τε καὶ ἐνιωσαντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν
ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωτοῦ εὔδαιμονή
οὐκ ἐλύσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρός τε τούτοισι
δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη
τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύει
σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ¹ καὶ

³ *top* is bracketed by Stein.

then that he did this, but Croesus, as he stood on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that no living man was blest. When this came to his mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed deeply and groaned, and thrice uttered the name of Solon. Cyrus heard it, and bade his interpreters ask Croesus who was this on whom he called, they came near and asked him, Croesus at first would say nothing in answer, but presently, being compelled, he said, "It is one with whom I would have given much wealth that all sovereigns should hold converse." This was a dark saying to them, and again they questioned him of the words which he spoke. As they were instant, and troubled him, he told them then how Solon, an Athenian, had first come, and how he had seen all his royal state and made light of it (saying thus and thus), and how all had happened to Croesus as Solon said, though he spoke with less regard to Croesus than to mankind in general and chiefly those who deemed themselves blest. While Croesus thus told his story, the pyre had already been kindled and the outer parts of it were burning. Then Cyrus, when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, repented of his purpose. He bethought him that he, being also a man, was burning alive another man who had once been as fortunate as himself, moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his mind that there was no stability in human affairs, wherefore he gave command to quench the burning

καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τὸν μετὰ Κροίσου.
καὶ τὸν πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς
ἐπικρατῆσαι.

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον
μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγγισιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα
μὲν ἄγρα σβεττύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ
οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα
ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἰ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένοι ἔξ αὐτοῦ
ἔδωριθη, παραστῆναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ
παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέ-
εσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ ιημέρης
συνδραμεῖν ἔξαπίνης γέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρ-
ραγήναι καὶ ὅσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβε-
σθῆνπε τε τὴν πυρῆν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν
Κύρου ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφελῆς καὶ ἀνήρ
ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πυρῆς
εἰρέσθαι τάδε. “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων
ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον
πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε
“Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν
εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἵτιος
δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ
στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γάρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ
ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρέσται· ἐν μὲν γάρ
τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ
πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου
φίλοι ήν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἐλεγε, Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας
κατεῖσέ τε ἣγγὺς ἐωμτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῷ
προμηθίη εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε δρέων καὶ αὐτὸς
καὶ οἱ περὶ ἑκεῖνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίη
ἔχόμενος ἦσυχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ

fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

87. Then (so the Lydians relate), when Croesus was aware of Cyrus' repentance and saw all men striving to quench the fire but no longer able to check it, he cried aloud to Apollo, praying that if the god had ever been pleased with any gift of his offering he would now come to his aid and save him from present destruction. Thus with weeping he invoked the god and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a most violent rain, so that the pyre was quenched. Then indeed Cyrus perceived that Croesus was a good man and one beloved of the gods, and bringing him down from the pyre, he questioned him, saying, "What man persuaded you, Croesus, to attack my country with an army, and be my enemy instead of my friend?" "O King," said Croesus, "it was I who did it, and brought thereby good fortune to you and ill to myself but the cause of all was the god of the Greeks, in that he encouraged me to send my army. No man is so foolish as to desire war more than peace for in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons. But I must believe that heaven willed ill this so to be."

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he

ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λιδῶν πάστυ κεραζούτας εἶπε "Ω βασιλεῦ, κότεροι λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ γοέων τυγχάνω ἡ αἰγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρῆ;" Κύρος δέ μιν θαρσέοττο ἐκέλευτε λέγειν ὃ τι βουλοῖστο. ὁ δὲ πάντοις εἰρώτα λέγων "Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Πόλεις τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἔμινην οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἀγονοῦσι τὰ σά."

89. Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορῶντες ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐπείτε με θεοὺς ἔδωκαν δοῦλοι σοι, δίκαιῶ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔόντες ὑβρισταὶ εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. οἵν τι σὺ ταύτους περιίδῃς διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἔξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· δις ἀν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχῃ, τούτον προσδέκεσθαι τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν τὸν ποίησον ὅδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσησι τῆσι πύλησι φυλάκους, οἵ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίη ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις συγγρύντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προϊσονται."

90. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος ὑπερήδετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέστας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἴπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε.

turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this whereon they are so busily engag'd?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions" "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions, for I have no longer any share of all this, it is your wealth that they are ravishing"

89 Cyrus thought upon what Croesus said, and bidding the rest withdraw he asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done "Since the gods," replied the Lydian, "have given me to be your slave, it is right that if I have any clearer sight of wrong done I should declare it to you The Persians are violent men by nature, and poor withal, if then you suffer them to seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has won most will rise in revolt against you Now therefore do this, if what I say finds favour with you Set men of your guard to watch all the gates, let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as tithe to Zeus Thus shall you not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they for their part will acknowledge that you act justly, and will give up the spoil willingly"

90 When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good, and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus

HERODOTUS

“Κροῖσε, ἀγαρτημένου σεῦ ἄνδρὸς βασιλέος
 χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπει ποιέειν, αἵτεο δόσιν ἥντια
 βούλεαι τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε
 “Ω δέσποτα, ἐώστας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτιμησα θεῶν μάλιστα,
 ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τύσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξα-
 πατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.” Κῦρος
 δὲ εἴρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο.
 Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπαλειλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
 διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ
 μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαιερθεὶς τῷ
 μαντηίῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας λέγων δὲ
 ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ
 τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὄνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε
 “Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ
 ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ πᾶν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
 ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς
 ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ηηοῦ τὸν
 οὐδὸν είρωτάν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι
 μαντηίοισι ἐπαιέρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
 Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν,
 ἀπ’ ἣς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας
 τὰς πέδας ταῦτα τε ἐπειρωτάν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρισ-
 τοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

91. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι
 τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε.
 “Τὴν πεπρωμένην μάδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν
 καὶ θεῷ Κροῖσος ἐπιτλησε, ὃς οὐ πτον γονέος ἀμαρτίδα
 ἔχε τὴν ἐκείνου ποτε Ήρακλειδέων, δόλῳ
 τὸν δεσπότεα οσῆκουσαν. ατὰ τοὺς

had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what charge he brought against the god that he made this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should

παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γέγοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος
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 παραγαγέειν μούρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὗται,
 ἥμισαέ τε καὶ ἔχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεις ἐπανε-
 βάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω
 Κροῖσος ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἀλοὶς
 τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένῳ
 αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον
 οὐκ ὄρθως Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ
 Λοξίης, ἦν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην
 ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα
 χρῆν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμ-
 φαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι
 ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ρῆθὲν οὐδὲ ἐπανειρό-
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 ἔσχε οὕτω.

92. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ
 Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν

fall in the lifetime of Croesus sons, not his own, but he could not turn the Fates from their purpose, yet did he accomplish his will and favour Croesus in so far as they would yield to him for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years, and this let Croesus know, that though he be now taken it is by so many years later than the destined hour And further, Loxias saved Croesus from the burning But is to the oracle that was given him, Croesus doth not right to complain concerning it For Loxias declared to him that if he should lead an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire Therefore it behoved him, if he would take right counsel, to send and ask whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus empire But he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry wherefore now let him blame himself Nay, when he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus understood not For that mule was in truth Cyrus, who was the son of two persons not of the same nation, of whom the mother was the nobler and the father of lesser estate, for she was a Median, daughter of Astyages king of the Medians but he was a Persian and under the rule of the Medians, and was wedded, albeit in all regards lower than she, to one that should be his sovereign lady Such was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians, they carried it to Sardis and told it to Croesus, and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the gods, but his own And this is the story of Croesus rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia

92 Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas and not only those whereof I have spoken

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92 Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken

γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίτους χρύσεος, τὸις ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἱφέστῃ αἴ τε βασις αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόρων αἱ τολλαῖ, ἐν δὲ Προνηῆς τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀστίς χρυσέη μεγάλῃ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δὲ ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀιαθημάτων τὰ δὲ ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῆσι Μιλησίων ἀιαθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἔγω πυνθαιομαι, ἵσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὄμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι¹. . . . τὰ μὲν νῦν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήια τε ἔοιτα καὶ τῶν τατρωίων χρημάτων ἀπαρχῆν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀιαθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἔχθροῦ, ὃς οἱ πρὶν ἦν βασιλεὺσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστίκε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὄμομήτριος· Κροίσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Κασίρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττῃ, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροίσος, τοὶ ἀνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοι τα ἐπὶ κυάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω

93 Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλιστα ἔχει, οἵα τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον ταρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Λίγυττίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ

¹ The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate

There is a golden tripod at Ihebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus, at Ephesus¹ there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars, and in the temple of Pronaea at Delphi, a golden shield² All these yet remained till my lifetime, but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphirrhus were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father, the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had heeded a fiction against Croesus before he became king and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half brother of Croesus. Croesus was Alyattes son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93 There are not in Lydia many marvellous things for me to tell of, if it be compared with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is more notable than any, saving those of Egypt and Babylon. There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base

¹ The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.

² The temple of Athene Pronaea (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

γὰρ Θῆβης τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίποντα χρύσεος, τὸν
ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, εἰν δὲ Ἑρέσι
αἱ τε βάσειαι καὶ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων οὐ πολλαῖ,
εἰν δὲ Προνήσει τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσέη
μεγάλῃ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα,
τὰ δὲ ἔξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ δὲ ἐν
Βραγχίδησι τῆσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροῖσῳ,
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τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι¹. . . . τὰ μέν τοντα ἐς τε Δελφοῖς
καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιέρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήμα τε ἔστι τα καὶ
τῶν πατρωίων χρημάτων ἀπαρχῆιν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀγδρος ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἔχθροῦ, οἷς οἱ
πρὸν ἡ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκει,
συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν
ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς,
Κροῖσου δὲ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὄμοιμήτριος· Κροῖσος
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Κασίρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη,
Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν
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διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτε πρότερον
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ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε
Αἴγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι
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¹ The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.

There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Lemnos; at Ephesus¹ there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars, and in the temple of Pronaea at Delphi, a golden shield². All the rest remained till my lifetime, but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidæ of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and size to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphitruus were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father, the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half brother of Croesus. Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93 There are not in Lydia many marvellous things for me to tell of, if it be compared with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Imolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is more notable than any, saving those of Egypt and Babylon. There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base

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² The temple of Athene Pronaea (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

ιὴ κρηπὶς μὲν ἔστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ πέντε ἔόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐστὶν ἡσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σῆματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἔκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δῆμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἃς ὁ ἄν συναικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σῆματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἑξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὔρος ἔστι πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σῆματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὗτη Γυγαῖη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἔστι.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ "Ελληνες, χωρὶς ἣ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύοντι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἄνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἕδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς μὲν σφίσι τε καὶ "Ελλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι ἄμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ "Ατνος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἴσχυρὴν ἄνα τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὖν παύεσθαι, ἄκεα διζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῷ. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὥν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν πλοτραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαιρῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλέων

whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind and measurement showed that the prostitutes share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands, and they offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of six furlongs and a third, and its breadth is above two furlongs, and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, say the Lydians, is fed by ever flowing springs, it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94 The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians. These, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story. In the reign of Atys son of Mines there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could, presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle bones and

πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εῖδεα. πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γάρ ὡς τὴν ἔξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὡδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἔξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παιζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι πανομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὗτῳ δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρώσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνῃ τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔξοδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωսτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἑωστὸν παιδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνού. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἔξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς δὲ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὁμερικούς, ἐνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὄνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσηστι ἐδεδούλωντο.

95. Ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τροπῷ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὡς ὡς Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ τερπὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔοντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω.

bill, and all other forms of pasture except only draughts, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, they would play for the whole of every other day, that they might not have to seek for food, and the next day they ceased from their play and ate. This was their manner of life for eighteen years. But the famine did not cease to plague them, and rather afflicted them yet more grievously. At last their king divided the people into two portions, and made them draw lots, so that the one part should remain and the other leave the country, he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus, of those who departed. Then one part of them, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, whereon they set all their goods that could be carried on shipboard, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country, till at last, after sojourning with many nations in turn, they came to the Ombrici,¹ where they founded cities and have dwelt ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them thither.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

95 But it is next the business of my history to inquire who this Cyrus was who brought down the power of Croesus and how the Persians came to be rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to make a fine tale of the story of Cyrus but to tell

¹ In northern and central Italy, the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.

τετταύρους πορεία Κίσι καὶ τρεπτέοντος ἀλλα
λιγοτε σάρκα φέρει

Λαστιχων ὑρχήστης τὸς ἀντού 'Αριός εἰν' ἔτει
εἶσεν καὶ πεποιηθεῖσα, πρῶτος δέ τοι πάντων Μήδοι
ἔστι ἡράκοτο ἀπεργαθεῖσα, καὶ κακες φέρεις τοῖς
τοῖς ἐλαυνεῖσι μαχεσμένες τοῖς τοῖς 'Ασσαρίοις
ἔγνωστο ἀνέρες ἄγαθοί, καὶ ἀποτινάκτοις τοῖς
τοῖς λαοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς βεργαθεῖσαν, μετὰ δὲ τούτοις, καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνα ἐποίεις κάτιον τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

Ων Φορτοῖς ἔστι πινακούμενον πάντων ἀλλὰ τὸν
ἱππεῖρον, αἵτε πᾶς τις ἐστι τυγχανοῦσα -εριῆλθον. ἀντρ
εν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἔγειτο σοφὸς τῷ οὔτιοντι ἡ
Δηϊόκηρη, -αἵ δέ ἦν Θρακίηρρεων. αἵτος ὁ Δηϊόκηρης
ἐρποθετεῖς τυραινοῦσος ἐποίεις τοιάδε. κατοικημένων
τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐπαντοῦ ἐών καὶ
πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ -ριθυμότερον
δικαιοσύνην ἀπειθέμειος ἥτκεεν καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι
ἔσουσης ἀιομίης πολλῆς μετὰ τῆσαι τὴν Μηδικὴν
ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ότι τῷ δικαιῷ τὸ ἀδίκον πολέ-
μον ἔστι. οἱ δέ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μήδοι
ὄρωντες πάτον τοὺς τρόπους δικαστῆν μιν ἐσυντῶν
αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆ, οἷα μιώμενος προχήρ, ιθὺς τε
καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἐπαιον εἶχε οὐκε
δλίγον πρὸς τῶν τολμητέων, οὗτοι ὥστε πυθού-
μενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκηρης εἴη
ἀνήρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὄρθρον δικάζων, πρότερον
περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γυνώμησι, τότε ἐπείτε
ἥκουσαν ἀσμενοὶ ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα
καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄλλῳ
ἐπετράποντο.

97. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἱεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέ-
οντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν

the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give

When the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years¹ their subjects began to revolt from them first of all, the Medes These, it would seem, proved their valour in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians, they cast off their slavery and won freedom Afterwards the other subject nations too did the same as the Medes

96 All of those on the mainland were now free men, but they came once more to be ruled by monarchs as I will now relate There was among the Medians a clever man called Deioces he was the son of Phriortes Deioces was enamoured of sovereignty, and thus he set about gaining it Being already a notable man in his own township (one of the many townships into which Media was parcelled), he began to profess and practise justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and this he did although there was much lawlessness in all the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is ever the foe of justice Then the Medes of the same township, seeing his dealings, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just By so acting he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, insomuch that when the men of the other townships learned that Deioces alone gave righteous judgments (they having before suffered from unjust decisions) they, then, on hearing this, came often and gladly to plead before Deioces, and at last they would submit to no arbitrament but his

97 The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case ended as

¹ From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709

κατὰ τὸ ἔον, γιοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν τὸν
ἀπακείμενοι οὗτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἥθελε ἔνθα περ
προτεροὶ προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὐτ' ἐφη δικᾶι ἔτι
οὐ γαρ οἱ λυσιτελεῖσιν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα
τοῖσι πελας δι' ἡμερῆς δικαζεῖν ἐούσης ὡν
αργαγῆς καὶ ἀιομήης ἔτι τολλῆ μᾶλλον ἀὶδας
κωμας ἡ πρότερον ἦι, συννελεχθῆσαν οἱ Μῆδοι
ἐς τῶντο και ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγοι, λέγοντες τερι
τῶν κατηκούτων ως δ' ἔγω δοκεω, μαλιστα
ἔλεγον οι τοῦ Δηϊοκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γάρ δη τροπω
τῷ παρεοντι χρεωμειοι διπατοὶ είμεν οἰκεει την
χωρηη, φερε στησωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλεα
και οὕτω ἡ τε χωρη εὐι ομησεται και αὐτοὶ τρος
ἔργα τρεψομεθα, οὐδε ὑπ' ἀνομηης ἀνιστατοι
ἐσόμεθα" ταῦτα κη λέγοντες πειθουσι εωυτους
βασιλεύεσθαι

98 Αὐτικα δε προβαλλομένων ὅνται στῇ
σονται βασιλεα ὁ Δηϊοκης ἦν πολλος ὑπὸ παντος
ἀνδρος καὶ προβαλλομενος και αἴιεομειος, εις δ
τοῦτον καταινεουσι βασιλεα σφισι εἴαι δ δ
ἐκελευε αὐτους οικια τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληής
οἰκοδομῆσαι και κρατῦναι αὐτον δορυφοροσι
ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οι Μῆδοι οἰκοδομένυσι τε γαρ
αὐτῷ οικια μεγαλα τε και ισχυρά, ἵνα αυτος
ἔφρασε τῆς χωρης, και δορυφορους αὐτῷ επι
τραπουσι ἐκ παντων Μῆδων καταλεξασθαι δ
δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχην, τους Μῆδους ἷι αγκασε
ἐν πολισμα ποιησασθαι και τοῦτο τεριστέλλοντας
τῶν ἄλλων ἡσσον ἐπιμελεσθαι πειθομενων δε
και ταῦτα τῶν Μῆδωι οἰκοδομει τειχεα μεγαλα
τε και καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβατανα κε
κληται, ἔτερον ετερο κυκλω ἐνεστεῶτα μεμη

accorded with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

98. The question was forthwith propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioces forward and praising Deioces, till they agreed that he should be their king. He bade them build him houses worthy of his royal power, and arm him with a bodyguard: the Medes did so; they built him great and strong houses at what places soever in the country he showed them, and suffered him to choose a bodyguard out of all their people. But having obtained the power, he constrained the Medes to make him one stronghold and to fortify this more strongly than all the rest. This too the Medes did for him: so he built the great and mighty circles of walls within walls which are now called Agbatana.¹ This fortress is so planned that each

¹ Modern Hamdin, probably: but see Hawlinson's note.

χάνηται δὲ οὗτο τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἔτερος τοῦ ἔτέρου κύκλου τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κοῦ τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμπαχέει κολωνὸς ἐών ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἔοντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήια ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστου ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κῃ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκεοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοιστε δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ δὲ μὲν καταργυρωμένους δὲ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχοντος προμαχεῶνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηιόκης ἔωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἔωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμου τόνδε Δηιόκης πρώτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὄρασθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἀπασι εἶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἔωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ ὄρῶντες οἱ ὄμηλικες, ἔοιτες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνοις καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυρότερης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεούσατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἔτεροῖς σφι δοκέοι εἴναι μὴ ὄρωσι.

100. Ἐπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἔωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων

circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements, to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, some what helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all, within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries, and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens¹. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours, and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold.

99 Deioces built these walls for himself and around his own palace, the people were to dwell without the wall. And when all was built, it was Deioces first who established the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but all should be dealt with by the means of messengers, that the king should be seen by no man, and moreover that it should be in particular a disgrace for any to laugh or to spit in his presence. He was careful to hedge himself with all this state in order that the men of his own age (who had been bred up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in manly excellence), instead of seeing him and being thereby vexed and haply moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him deem him to be changed from what he had been².

100 Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard

¹ About eight miles according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd ii 13 but this is disputed.

² Or, perhaps different from themselves.

χαλεπός· καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἐσω παρ' ἔκεινοι ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἔκεινος διακρίνων τὰς ἀσφερομέγας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ εἰ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, ταῦτον ὄκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἄξιην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίειν, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀρά πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἥρχε.

101. Δηιόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μῆδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἥρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μῆδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μῆδων ἔστι τοσάδε.

102. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, δις τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχράτο μούνων Μῆδων ἀρχεῖν, ἄλλα στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρωτοῖσι τε τούτοισι ἐπεθῆκατο καὶ πρώτους Μῆδων ὑπῆκούς εἶποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἴσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἵων ἔθνος, ἐς δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνον είχον καὶ ἥρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμονωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωτῶν εὐ ἥκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν

man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as besetted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

101. Deioces, then, united the Median nation, and no other, and ruled it. The Median tribes are these—the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi: so many are their tribes.

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne at Deioces' death after a reign of fifty-three years.¹ Having so inherited, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subdued one nation of Asia after another, till he marched against the Assyrians, to wit, those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had dropped from them and they were left alone, yet in themselves a prosperous people: marching then against these Assyrians, Phraortes himself and the greater part of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103. At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater

¹ Deioces died in 656 B.C.

προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτος τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρώτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξην πάντα ὄμοίως ὑγαπεφυρμένα. οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔστι μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νὺξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἐωυτῷ, συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλεν ταυτην θέλων ἔξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὃι συμβαλῶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατῆμένῳ τῇ Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἥγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώριην ἀπίκουντο.

104. "Εστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιῆτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβιηναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειθομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σκύθαι ταύτην ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

warrior than his fathers : it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen : before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle ; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyesson of Protothyres. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe : pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.¹

104. It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeonian lake² to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi ; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media : there is but one nation between, the Saspes ; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered ; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

¹ This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV. The Scythians, apparently, marched eastwards along the northern slope of the Caucasus, turning south between the end of the range and the Caspian. But Herodotus' geography in this story is difficult to follow.—The "Saspes" are in Armenia.

² The Maeonian lake is the Sea of Azov.

προγένετοι καὶ πρότεροι τε ἐλόχιστε κατὰ τὰς
τοὺς ἐι τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πρῶτος ἐιέταις χαῖ
ἐκεῖστοι. εἶται, τοις τε πάχυμοδύροις καὶ τοῖς
πολέμησις καὶ τοῖς ἴστραις πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀραιᾶς
ἴη πατερά θύμοισι, ὥντες εἰς ἡγεμονίην
λιδοῖσι δεῖται μαχεσθαι μὲν ὅτε εἰς ἡγεμονίην
γινοταί σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀλισοῦ πόλε^ς
μοῦ μὲν πάσῃ πάσαις σιστήσας ἐντῆντι. αὐτὸν
λέξας δὲ τοῖς ἴστροις ἐντῷ μαχομένοις τυγχα-
νετοπειστο εἰ τῇ Νύοι, τιμωρεῖται τε τὸν πατέρα
καὶ τὴν πολινί τοις αὐτῆς θελοῖς ἔξελεις καὶ οἱ ὄν-
συμβαλλοι ἀπικησεταις τοις Ἀσσυρίοις, περικατ-
μετει τῇ Νύοι εἰηθε Σκυθέων στρατός μέλαι
ηγε δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖς ὁ Σκυθέως Μαδυτ^η
Προσθιεω πάνται οἱ ἐσέβαλοι μὲν ἐι τῆς Ἀσίης
Κιμμερίοις ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Βίρωτης, τούτοισι
δὲ ἐπιστομειοι φεύγουσι οὐτω ἐι τὴν Μηδικήν
χώρην ἀπίκουντο

104. Εστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέμιης τῆς Μαιῆτιδος
ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν τοταμοι καὶ ἐε Κόλχους τριήγορα
ἡμερέων εὐζωιῳ οδος, εκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ
πολλον ὑπερβήσαις ἐε την Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐι το
διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάστειρες, τούτο δε
παραμειβομένοισι εἰατε ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ οὐ μέντοι
οἱ γε Σκυθαι ταύτη ἐσέβαλοι, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατ-
περθε ὄδον πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, εν
δεξιῇ ἔχοιτες τὸ Καυκασιον ὄρος ἐι θαῦτα οἱ
μεν Μῆδοι συμβαλοντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσω
θεντες τῇ μαχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελυθησαν, οἱ δε
Σκυθαι τῇν Ἀσίην πᾶσαιν ἐπεσχον

warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyesson of Prothoës. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country¹.

104 It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeetian lake² to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi, from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media there is but one nation between, the Saspres, to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered, they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

¹ This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV eastwards along the south between the c Herodotus' geograph The "Saspres" are in Armenia

² The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov

105. 'Γιθεῦτεν δὲ τῆσαν ἐτ' Αἰγυπτοι καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίη, Ψαμμή τιχος σφέας Λίγύπτου βασιλευς ἀντιάσας δωροισί τε καὶ λιτῆσι ἀποτράπει τὸ τροσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι οἱ δὲ ἐτείτε ἀναχωρεούτες ὅτισαν ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι τόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων ταρεξελθόι των ἀστινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἵρον ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἵρον, ὡς ἔγω πυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἵρων ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ εν Κύπρῳ ἵρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κυπρίοι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθηροῖσι Φοίικες εἰσὶ οἱ ιδρυσαμένοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἔόντες τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἵρον τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἱεὶ ἐκγονοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον ὥστε ἀμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τούτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὅραν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι· Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι

106. Ἐπὶ μέν νυν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἥρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστata ἦν χωρὶς μεν γὰρ φόρου ἐπρησσον παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκαστοῖσι ἐπεβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἐκαστοι καὶ τούτων μεν τους πλεῦνας Κυαξαρῆς τε καὶ Μῆδοι ἔειπαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφοιευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀιεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκρατεον τῶν περ καὶ προτερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νινον

105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.¹ This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the flight of the men whom they call "Enareis".²

106. The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twenty-eight years, and all the land was wasted by reason of their violence and their pride, for, besides that they started from each the tribute which was laid upon them, they rode about the land carrying off all men's children and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and Astyages. So thus the Medes won back their empire which they had formerly possessed, and they

HERODOTUS

ελλον (ώς δὲ εἶλοι, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους οὐοι, σαντολήγη τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρις.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν οἷστι Σεύθαις ἤρξαι, τελευτὴν, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω οὗτος τὴν βασιληίην.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐιοματίᾳ οὐετο Μαρδάιης τὴν ἀδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὑπερούρησαι τοσοῦτοι ὥστε λῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἔωυτον πόλιν, ἐτικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαι ὑπερθέμειος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι διειροτάλαισι τὸ οἰνότινον, ἐφοβήθη ταρπίαντων αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἐκασταμαθών μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μαρδάιην ταύτην ἐοῦσαι ἦδη ἀιδρὸς ὡρπίην Μῆδων μει τῶν ἔωυτον αἰξίων οὐδεὶς διδοῖ γνιαῖκα, δεδοεκὼς τὴν δύνην δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῇ οὐιοματίᾳ Καμβύσης, τὸν εὑρισκεοίκητης μὲν ἐνι ταῦγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ισυχίου, τολλῷ ἐνερθεῖ ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσουν ἀιδρὸς Μῆδου

108. Συνοικεούσιος δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μαρδάιης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ τρώτῳ ἔτει εἰδεὶ ἀλληγορίαν, ἀδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἀμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἀμπελοις ἐτισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Ιδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι διειροπόλισι, μετετέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέριν ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι ἐκ γαρ οἱ τῆς δύνηος οἱ τῶν Μάγων διειροπόλοι ἐσήμανον δτε μέλλοις ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γονος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου ταῦτα δὴ ὡν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ώς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας "Λρπαγον ἀιδρο οἰκήιοι

took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule

107. Afterwards Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination) : and his son Astyages reigned in his stead.

Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: concerning whom he had a dream, that enough water flowed from her to fill his city and overflow all Asia. He imparted this vision to those of the Magi who interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified and presently, Mandane being now of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Median worthy to mate with his family, but wedded her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be well born and of a quiet temper for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle estate

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his

καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἔωντοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε. “Αρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρισθή, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσῃς λάβε τὸν Μαινδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωντοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βουλεαί.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “Ω βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρεῖδες ἄνδρι τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρονον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τὸ γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπειηδέως.”

109. Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Αρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκασμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἦιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἔωντοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ρῆθέντα λόγον. ή δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει “Νῦν ὧν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδὲ εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ή νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γυνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἶνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἀπαις ἔρσενος γόνου· εἰ δὲ ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ή τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν νιὸν κτείνει δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ή λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἶνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τούτου τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.”

futhfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him. and then bury him in what manner you yourself will" "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service"

109 Thus answered Harpagus The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages "Now, therefore," said she to him, "whit purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder There are many reasons why I will not kill the child he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine"

110 Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτικα ἄγγελον ἐπεμπε
 ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυαγεος τον ἡπίστατο
 νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νεμούτα καὶ δρεα θηριώ
 δεστατα τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδατης, συνοίκεε δὲ
 ἔωυτοῦ συνδούλη, οὗνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ
 συνοίκεε Κυνω κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνων γλώσσαν,
 κατὰ δε την Μηδικὴν Σπακω την γὰρ κυνα
 καλέουσι σπακα Μῆδοι αἱ δε ὑπώρεαι εἰσὶ τῶν
 δρέωι, ἔνθα τὰς νομας τῶν βοῶν εἴχε οὔτος δὴ ο
 βουκολος, τρος βορέω τε ἀνεμου τῶν Ἀγβατανων
 και προς τοῦ ποντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ταυτη μεν γὰρ
 η Μηδικὴ χωρη πρὸς Σασπειρων δρεινή ἐστι
 καρτα καὶ υψηλή τε καὶ ἴδησι συνηρεφης, η δὲ
 ἄλλη Μηδικη χωρη ἐστι τᾶσα ἀτεδος ἐπει ἀν ὁ
 βουκολος στουδῆ πολλῆ καλεομενος ἀπικετο,
 ἐλεγε ο "Λρταγος τάδε "Κελευε σε Ἀστυαγης
 το ταιδιον τούτο λαβοντα θεῖναι ει το ερημότατον
 τῶν ορεων, ὅκως ἀν ταχιστα διαφθαρειη και
 τιδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ ἀποκ-εινης αύτο
 ἀλλα τεῶ τρογω περιτοιησης, ὄλεθρω τῷ κακίστῳ
 σε διαχρησεσθαι ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκειμειον τέταγμας
 ἔγω "

111 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβων
 το ταιδιον ἦμε -ην αὐτῇ ὀτίσω ὄδδον καὶ ἀτι
 κιεεται ἐς τηι ἐ-αυλαι τῷ δὲ ἄρα καὶ αυτῷ ἡ
 γυνη, ε-ιτεξ ἐνῦσα τᾶσαν ημερην, τοτε κως κατα
 δαιμοι α-ικτει οίχομειον τοῦ βουκολου ει πολιν
 ἥσαν δε ἐι φροντιδι ήμφοτεροιι αλληλωι περι,
 ο μει -οῦ -οκου -ῆ γυναικος αρρωδέων, η δε γυνη
 ο -ι ούκ ἔωβιως ο "Λρταγος μετατεμψατο αυτῆς
 -οι αι δρα ετειτε δε ἀ-οιστησας ἐτεστη, οία
 ε- μέλ--ον ιένεσα η γυνη είρετο τρα-ερη ο τι μιν

110 So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him, her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatan, towards the Euxine sea for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Spires,¹ the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

111 Hearing this, the cowherd took up the child and returned by the same way and came to his stead ing. Now it chanced that his wife too had been expecting her time every day, and providence so ordained that she was brought to bed while her man was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's travail, and the wife because she knew not why Harpagus had so unwontedly sent for her husband. So when he returned and came before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before

¹ In the north western part of Media modern Azer baijan

ιῦτον προσθίμως Ἀρπαγὸν μεταπεμψόντον ὁ δὲ
 εἶπε· Ὡ γειταί, εἰσοι τέ εἰ, τολμεῖσθαι καὶ ἵεσοι σα-
 το μητρὸς ιδεῖν ὄφελοι μητε κοτὲ γειέσθαι ἐσ-
 δεσπότας τοι, ἡμετέρους οἴκου μὲν ταῦτα Ἀρπά-
 γου κλαιθμῆ κατειχετο, εγὼ δὲ ἀκτλαγεις ἥπα-
 τος ἡ, δε ταχιστα εσῆλθοι, ὄρεώ ταξίδιοι τρο-
 κειμενοι παταίρου τε και κραυγαιωμενοι, κεκοσμη-
 μένοι χρυσοι τε και ἰσθητη τοικιλη Ἀρπαγος δε
 ως εἶδε με, εκελειε την ταχιστην αλαζοντα τὸ
 πιπίδιον οὐχ εσθαι φέροντα και πεινατε εἰθα θηριωδέ-
 σπατοι εἶη τῶι ὄρεωι, φατε Ἀστυαγεα εἴπει τον
 ταῦτα ἐπιθεμενοι μοι, τολλ' απειλησας εἰ μή
 σφεα τοιησαιμι και ἔγω ἀλαζων ἔφεροι,
 δοκεων τῶι την οικετέωι εἴηται οὐ γαρ ἀι κοτε
 κατεδοξα εἴθει γε ἦτι ἐθηριβεον δὲ ὄρεωι χρυσῆ-
 τε και ειμασι κεκοσμημενοι, τροε δε και κλαιθμοι
 κατεστεῶτα ἐμφαιτα εἰ Ἀρπαγου και τροκατε-
 δη κατ' οδον τυνθαιομαι τοι ταῖτα λογοι θεραι
 ποιητος, δις εμὲ προπεμπων ἔξω τάλιος ενεχειρισε
 το θρεφος, ως ἄρα Μαιδαιης τε εἴη ταις τῆς
 Ἀστυαγεος θυγατρος και Καρβυσεω τοῦ Κυρου,
 και μιν Ἀστυαγης ἐντέλλεται αποκτεῖναι νῦν τε
 δέ εστι "

112 Αμα δε ταῦτα ἐλεγε ὁ βουκολος και
 εκκαλύψας απεδεικνυε ἦ δε ως εἶδε το παιδιοι
 μεγα τε και ενειδες εον, δακρυσασα και λαθομένη
 τῶν γουνατωι τοῦ ανδρος εχρηιζε μηδεμιή τεχνη
 εκθεῖναι μιν δ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οίος τ' εἴναι ἀλλως
 αυτα ποιεειν ἐπιφοιτησειν γαρ κατασκοπους εξ
 Ἀρπαγου ἐποψομενους, ἀπολεεσθαι τε κακιστα
 ἦν μή σφεα ποιηση ως δε ουκ ἔτειθε ἄρα τον
 ἄνδρα, δευτερα λεγει ἦ γυνη τάδε "Σπει τοίνυν

he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen, and what I would had never happened to our masters All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping, and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many coloured raiment And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains it was Astyages, he said, who had this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household, for I could never have guessed whose he was But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade him slay the child And now, here is the child'

112 And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him But the husband said he could do no other, for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did otherwise So then being unable to move her husband the woman said at last "Since I can do nothing

οῦτω προθύμως "Αρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ω γύναι, εἰδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἥκουσα τὸ μῆτε ἴδεῖν ὄφελον μῆτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἴκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦνα ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὄρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρον τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. "Ἀρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὄρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δακέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἴναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἔθαμβεον δὲ ὄρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἴμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέπει ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὅδον πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καρβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί."

112. "Αμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἢ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἔόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήικε μηδεμιῆ τέχνη ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἵσις τ' εἴναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἔξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψιομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "Ἐπει τούνν

he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen, and what I would had never happened to our masters All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping, and I was astonished, and entered in, and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many coloured raiment And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains it was Astyages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household, for I could never have guessed whose he was But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment,

~~and at how however on the man fast sound of weep~~
y soon on the way
who brought me

out of the city and gave the child into my charge to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade him slay the child And now, here is the child'

112 And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him But the husband said he could do no other, for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next "Since I cannot move you from your

οὐ δύναμαι σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὡδε
ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὁφθῆναι ἐκκείμενου.
τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἑγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν
φέρων πρόθει, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς
παῖδα ὡς ἔξ ήμέων ἔόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὗτῳ
οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν
κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς
βασιληής ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὃ περιεών οὐκ ἀπο-
λέει τὴν ψυχήν."

113. Κάρτα τε τέ ἔδοξε τῷ Βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ
παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε
ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον
μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἐωυτοῦ
ἔόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ
ἔφερε τὸν ἔτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ^{τὸν}
τοῦ ἔτερου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἔρημότατον τῶν
δρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τριτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκει-
μένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦλε ἐς πόλιν ὁ Βουκόλος, τῶν τινα
προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθὼν δὲ
ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι
τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπάγος
τῶν ἐωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἰδέ τε
διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ Βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον,
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων
Κῦρον ὄνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ
τοῦ Βουκόλου, οὕνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον
θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς
αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἔξεφηνέ μιν. ἐπαιζε ἐν
τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἥσαν καὶ αἱ Βουκολίαι
αὗται, ἐπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ
οἱ παῖδες παιζοντες εἴλοιτο ἐωυτοῖν βασιλέα

purpose to expose, then do you do this, if needs must that a child be seen exposed Know that I too have borne a child, but it was dead, take it now and lay it out, but, for the child of the daughter of Astyages, let us rear it as it were our own; so shall you escape punishment for offending against our masters, and we shall have taken no evil counsel For the child that is dead will have royal burial, and he that is alive will not lose his life"

113 Thinking that his wife counselled him exceeding well in his present strait, the cowherd straightway did as she said He gave his wife the child whom he had brought to kill him, and his own dead child he put into the chest wherein he carried the other, and decked it with all the other child's adornment and laid it out in the most desolate part of the mountains Then on the third day after the laying out of the child, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to guard it and went to the city, where he came to Harpagus house and said he was ready to show the child's dead body Harpagus sent the most trusty of his bodyguard, and these saw for him and buried the cowherd's child So it was buried and the cowherd's wife took and reared the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus, but she gave him not that but some other name

114 Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were there he was playing in the road with others of his age The boys in their

είναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἴραι, τὸν δέ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὄφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ώς ἐκύστῳ ἔργου προστάσσων. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδῶν συμπαλίων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμιθάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γάρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ώς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐώντοῦ παθών, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἡντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδὸς. ὃ δὲ Ἀρτεμιθάρης ὅργῃ ως εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἄμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεποιθέναι, λέγων “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὥδε περιυβρίσμεθα,” δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὕμους.

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἴδων Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμιθάρεος εἶνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη “Σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου σόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἔόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἀεικείη τοιῆδε περισπεῖν;” ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὥδε. “Ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμις παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παιζούτες

play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd. Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eye, to another he gave the right of bringing him messages, to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys who played with him was son to Artembares, a notable Median, as he did not obey the command Cyrus gave him, Cyrus bade the other boys seize him, and when they did so he dealt very roughly with the boy and scourged him. As soon as he was loosed, very angry at the wrong done him, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had met with at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd,—not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares went with his anger fresh upon him to Astyages, bringing his son and telling of the cruel usage he had had. "O King," said he, "see the outrage done to us by the son of your slave, the son of a cowherd!" and with that he showed his son's shoulders.

115 When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares' rank so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, "Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so spitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" "Nay, master," answered Cyrus, "what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me

HERODOTUS

σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἔδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύτατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγου εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς δὲ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὧν δὴ τοῦτο εἴρεκα ἕξιός τεν κακοῦ εἴμι, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσῆνε ἀνάγρωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ δὲ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἔδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἴναι, δὲ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀφθογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, Ἡ Ἀρτέμιβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἥγον ἕσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἵρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τις εἴη ὁ παραδούς. δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὐ βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἀμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὗτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήγει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγράμμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

117. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο,

in their play to be their king · for they thought me the fittest to rule The other boys then did as I bid them : but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, till he got his deserts So now if I deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it "

116 While he spoke, it seemed to Astyages that he recognised Cyrus, the fashion of the boy's countenance was like (he thought) to his own, and his manner of answering was freer than customary and the time of the exposure seemed to agree with Cyrus' age Being thereby astonished, he sat awhile silent, but when at last with difficulty he could collect his wits, he said (for he desired to rid himself of Artembares and question the cowherd with none present), "I will so act, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint" So he sent Artembares away, and the servants led Cyrus within at Astyages' bidding Then, the cowherd being left quite alone, Astyages asked him whence he had got the boy and from whose hands The cowherd answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the mother was still in his house " You are ill advised," said Astyages, "desiring, as you do, to find yourself in a desperate strait,"—and with that he made a sign to the guard to seize him Then under stress of necessity the cowherd declared to him all the story, telling all truly as it had happened from the beginning and at the last he prayed and entreated that the king would pardon him

117 When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but

λόγον, λέγων ““Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὗτοι ὑμῖν ἔχει. Βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πότον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιξῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκέω θείη τύχη γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἥγημαι ἄνδρας Μῆδων εἴραι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τάλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὧν ἔχόντων ὅδε, ἀπίστασθε ἢπ’ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχιστην.”

127. Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι
ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δειγὸν ποιεύ-
μενοι ὑπὸ Λιήδων ἅρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς
ἐπύθετο Κύρου ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγ-
γελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευε τὸν
ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἦξοι παρ'
ἐκεῖνον ἡ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ὑκούσας
δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστ· πάντας,
καὶ στρατηγὸν : ἐὼν "Αρ-
παγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μιν ἔօργεε.
ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
συνέμισγον, οἵ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ
τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἵ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς
Πέρσας, οἵ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ
ἔφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ώς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ “Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν ὡς Κῦρος γε χαιρήσει.” τοσαῦτα εἴπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἵ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε

bare all his purpose, and said : " This is your case, men of Persia : obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery ; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was born by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand ; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true ; wherefore now revolt from Astyages with all speed ! "

127. The Persians had long been ill content that the Medes should rule them, and now having got them a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was at this business, he sent a messenger to summon him ; Cyrus bade the messenger bring back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he desired. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medians, and was so infatuated that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. So no sooner had the Medes marched out and joined battle with the Persians than some of them deserted to the enemy, but most of them of set purpose played the coward and fled ; those only fought who had not shared Harpagus' counsels

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, " that even so he should not go unpunished " ; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them ; then he armed

HERODOTUS

τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ τῶν Μῆδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἔξαγαγών δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἐσσάθη, καὶ αὐτός τε Ἀστυάγης ἔζωγρίθη καὶ τοὺς ἔξηγαγε τῶν Μῆδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἐόντε δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔτεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἔωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔθοίησε, ὅ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ὃ δέ μιν προσιδῶν ἀντείρετο εἰς ἔωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἔωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατὸν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἔωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἀλλῷ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικωτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἶνεκεν Μῆδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἀλλῷ τεῷ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μῆδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἡ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μῆδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτους ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μῆδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μέν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὗτο τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἀρξαντες τῆς ἀνω Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ οἵ σσον οἱ Σκυθαι ἥρχοι.

the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

129 He being then a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and with much other bitter mockery he brought to mind his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus on his son's flesh, and asked Astyages what it was to be a slave after having been a king. Fixing his gaze on Harpagus, Astyages asked, "Think you that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter, the accomplishment of the work is justly mine." "Then," said Astyages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth, most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business be indeed your doing, most unjust, in enslaving the Medes by reason of that banquet. For if at all hazards another and not yourself must possess the royal power, then in justice some Mede should enjoy it, not a Persian but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes."

130 Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty five years and the Medians were made to bow down before the Persians by reason of Astyages' cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years,¹ from which must be taken the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later

¹ 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634-606 B.C.

HERODOTUS

νόστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὅπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἡρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἔωντῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὑστερον τούτων ἕρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, τούτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὗτοι πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἥρξε.

131. Πέρσας δὲ οἵδια νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ ιηὸν καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἴδρυεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατά περ οἱ "Ελληνες εἶναι" οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὁρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὑδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀράβων. καλέονται δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῆ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῆσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χῶρον

time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius¹; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages' time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.

This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and thus he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subdued Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him, and after this victory he became sovereign of all Asia.

131. As to the usages of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who make such they deem foolish, as I suppose, because they never believed the gods, as do the Greeks, to be in the likeness of men; but they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. These are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed from the beginning, they have learnt later, to sacrifice to the "heavenly"² Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mithra.

132. And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fire, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal, but to whosoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the

¹ In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription. ² See note on ch. 105.

καθαρὸν ἀγαγῶν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφαγωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη μᾶλιστα. ἔωντῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἴδιῃ μουνῷ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἄρασθαι ἀγαθά, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλέι· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μᾶλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὥν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἷην δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· πᾶν γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὁ τι μιν λόγος αἴρεει.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μᾶλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὅπτους ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς "Ελληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἀν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἷνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἀν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίη νήφουσι

beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a wreath on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer, rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians, for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it, for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133 The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days, before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens, the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine, none may vomit or make water in another's presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk, and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober.

HERODOTUS

προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἀν ἔόντες βουλεύωνται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἀν νήφουντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἄν τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσὶν οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἡ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἡ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἔτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἐωυτούς, δευτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγου¹ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἥρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἔχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.

135. Ξενικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Λίγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπι-

¹ κατὰ λόγου [τῷ λεγομένῳ] Stein.

and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

134. When one man meets another in the way, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for then without speaking they kiss each other on the lips; if the difference in rank be but little, it is the cheek that is kissed; if it be great, the humbler bows down and does obeisance to the other. They honour most of all those who dwell nearest them, next those who are next farthest removed, and so going ever onwards they assign honour by this rule; those who dwell farthest off they hold least honourable of all; for they deem themselves to be in all regards by far the best of all men, the rest to have but a proportionate claim to merit, till those who dwell farthest away have least merit of all. Under the rule of the Medes one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and specially over those who dwelt nearest to themselves; these ruled their neighbours, and the neighbours again those who came next to them, on the same plan whereby the Persians assign honour; for according as the Median nation advanced its dominion farther from home, such was the measure of its rule and suzerainty.¹

135. But of all men the Persians most welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, deeming it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices

¹ This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.

τιγδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέοντι δὲ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακάς κτῶνται.

136. Ἀιδραγαθίη δὲ αὗτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἴναι ἀγνοθόν, ὃς ἀν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἴσχυρὸν εἶναι. πειδεύοντι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἵππους εἰναι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὸν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς δύψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἴνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνη τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137. Αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆτρας αἰτίης εἴνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐώντοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μεῆ αἰτίη ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἐώντον πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκοσα ἥδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολμαῖα ἔόντα ἥ μοιχίδια· οὐ γάρ δὴ φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐώντοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138. "Ασσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὄφειλειν χρέος,

are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

136. After valour in battle it is most reckoned as manly merit to show the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who can show most. Numbers, they hold, are strength. They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery and truth-telling. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the reason of this is that, if the boy should die in the time of his rearing, the father may suffer no dolour.

137. This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law too which suffers not the king himself to slay any man for one offence, nor any other Persian for one offence to do incurable hurt to one of his servants. Not till reckoning shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give vent to his anger. They say that none has ever yet killed his father or mother; when suchlike deeds have been done, it cannot be but that on inquest made the doer is shown to be a child falsely substituted or born of a concubine; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent.

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all and next to that debt; for which they have

πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εὑρεκα, μᾶλιστα δὲ ἀγαγ-
καίην φασὶ εἴραι τὸν ὄφειλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος
λέγειν. ὃς ἄν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἡ λεύκην
ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσ-
γεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν
ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. Ξεῦρον δὲ πάντα
τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἔξελαύ-
νουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς,
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν
δὲ οὔτε ἐισουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας
ἐναπονήζουνται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι,
ἄλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μᾶλιστα.

139. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὥδε συμπέπτωκε γίνε-
σθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι
οὖ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἔοντα ὄμοια τοῖσι σώμασι
καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸντὸ
γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, "Ιωνες δὲ
σίγυμα" ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα
τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὕ,
ἄλλὰ πάντα ὄμοιως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς
εἰπεῖν τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ
σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον
θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἀν ὑπ'
δρυιθος ἡ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρε-
κέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ
ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὡν τὸν νέκυν Πέρ-
σαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολ-
λὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτεί-
νειν, εἰ μὴ δσα θύουσι οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίη
πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

many other reasons, but this in especial, that the debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into a town or consort with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some wise against the sun. Many drive every stranger, who takes such a disease, out of the country, and so they do to white doves, for the reason aforesaid. Rivers they chiefly reverence, they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their hands therein, nor suffer anyone so to do.

139 There is another thing which always happens among them, we have noted it though the Persians have not their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma, you shall find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter.

140 So much I can say of them of my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told—how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by bird or dog. That this is the way of the Magians I know for a certainty, for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magians are much unlike to the priests of Egypt, as to all other men for the priests count it sacrilege to kill aught that lives, save what they sacrifice, but the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs.

ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦται, κτείνοντες ὄμοιῶς
μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὅφις καὶ τάλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πε-
τεινά· καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχέτω ὡς
καὶ ἀρχῆν ἐνομίσθη, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον
λόγον.

111. Ἰωνες δὲ καὶ Λίολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα
κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπειπον ἀγγέλους
ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐ-
τοῖσι εἴσαι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἥσαν κατίκοοι. ὃ
δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προσχόντο ἐλεξέ σφι
λόγον, ἀνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἴδοντα ἵχθυς ἐν τῇ
θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι
ἐς γῆν· ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν
ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν
τῶν ἵχθύων καὶ ἐξειρυσαι, ἴδοντα δὲ παλλομένους
εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἵχθυς "Παύεσθέ μοι
ὄρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἥθελετε
ἐκβαίνειν ὄρχεόμενοι." Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα τὸν
λόγον τοῖσι Ἰωνεῖς καὶ τοῖσι Λίολεῦσι τῶνδε εἴρεκα
ἔλεξε, δτὶ δὴ οἱ Ἰωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κυρου
δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ
Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων
τῶν πρηγμάτων ἥσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὃ
μὲν δὴ ὄργῃ ἔχόμενος ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Ιωνες δὲ
ὡς ἤκουσαν τουτῶν ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας,
τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἔκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο
ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς
μούνους γάρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ'
οἰσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἰωνεὶς ἔδοξε
κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησο-
μένους "Ιωστι τιμωρέειν.

and men, they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first,¹ I return now to my former story

141 As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus Having heard what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story Once, he said, there was a flute player who saw fishes in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that so they would come out on to the land Being disappointed of his hope, he took a net and gathered in and drew out a great multitude of the fishes, and seeing them leaping, "You had best," said he, "cease from your dancing now, you would not come out and dance then, when I played to you" The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus So he answered them in his anger But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves severally with walls, and assembled in the Panionion,² all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydiens The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians

¹ Lit. 'let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted' i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin"

² See ch. 148

142. Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιόνιον ἔστι, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἴδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν οὔτε γὰρ τὰ αἱωνικά τῆς χωρία τῶντὸ ποιέει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην,¹ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος, γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μιοῦντες τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἴδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῆστι πρότερον λεχθείσησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν οὐκέται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραῖ. Χῖοι μέν υπὸ καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ ἡῶντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλῶσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μίλησιοι μὲν ησαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ησάν καὶ Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων αὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἵσθενέος δὲ ἔόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ

¹ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς . . . ἐσκέρητο bracketed by Stein.

142 Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, had set their cities in places more favoured by skies and seasons than any country known to us. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does the land accomplish the same effect as Ionia, being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They use not all the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies furthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene, these are settlements in Caria, and they use a common language. Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them being in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three cities aforementioned. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situate on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the main land, the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and none others. It is thus seen that there are four fashions of speech.

143 Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear, for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,

γένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ιωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἀλαχίστου· ὅτε γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν τοῦ ἄλλοι Ιωνεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ιωνεῖς κεκλήσθαι, ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φαινούνται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἵρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων πὺτέων, τῷ οὐνόμα τὸ θευτὸν Πανιώνιον, ἐβούλευσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ιώνων (οὐδὲν ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι). 141. κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὡν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἵρον, ἄλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περ τὸ ἵρον ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσανται τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῖν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἵρον μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὁν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίγδος καὶ Ιήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήσανται τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ξημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

145. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι εἰς Ιωνεῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλησαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἶνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ

and the least of all its parts, and the least regarded, was the Ionian stock; for saving Athens it had no considerable city. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay, even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted), 144 even as the Dorians of what is now the country of the "Five Cities"—the same being formerly called the country of the "Six Cities"—forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors, and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145 As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of

οίκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν
 Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἔξελαστών Ἰωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ¹
 μέρεα, Πελλήνη μίν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος,
 μετὰ δὲ Λίγειρα καὶ Λίγαλ, ἐν τῇ Κρῆτῃ ποταμὸς
 ἀείρας ἐστί, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ
 οὔγομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βούρα καὶ Ἐλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέ-
 φυγον Ἰωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχη ἐσσωθέστες, καὶ
 Λίγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ
 Ωλεγος, ἐν τῷ Πείρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ
 Δύμη καὶ Γριταιέες, οἱ μοῦροι τούτων μεσόγαιοι
 οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ¹
 καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἴνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνες δυώδεκα
 πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ ᾧ γέ τι μᾶλλον οὕτοι
 Ἰωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἡ κάλλιόν τι γεγο-
 νασι, μωρή πολλὴ λέγειν· τῷν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ
 Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης
 μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδὲν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὁρχο-
 μένιοι σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύ-
 οπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ
 Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι,
 ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανῆσιν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὄρμηθέντες
 καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ
 οὐ γυναικας ἥγαγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἄλλὰ Καεί-
 ρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦ-
 τον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναικες αὐταὶ νόμοι θέμεναι
 σφίσι αὐτῆσι ὄρκους ἐπῆλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν
 τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὄμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδρά-
 σι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε
 εἴνεκα δτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ

them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegina and Aegae, where is the never failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name, Burr and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patre, Phereae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland city of all these, these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

146 For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other, for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians, seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorans of Epidaurus, and many other tribes, and as for those who came from the very town hall of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married

ἀνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες
αὐτῆςι συνοίκεον.

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασι-
λέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ
Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύ-
κωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ
καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ
σύνοματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἐστωσαν
δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ
πάντες Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ
Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὄρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν
Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι
Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ
φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος
ίρος πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρη-
μένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ
Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον
ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλ-
λεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνες ἄγεσκον ὄρτήν
τη̄ ἔθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὕτι
μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὄρται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλλήνων
πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι,
κατά περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ αὐνόματα.]¹

149. Λύται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ, αἴδε δὲ
αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λή-
ρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

¹ The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the *a* ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.

them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons

147 This happened at Miletus And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians, and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia.¹ All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon, these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood

148 The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing the north, it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite to Samos, the Ionians were wont to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they give the name of Panonia [The names of all the Greek festivals, not the Ionian alone, end alike in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians]

149 I have now told of the Ionian cities The Aeolian cities are these —Cyme (called "Phriconian"),² Leisae, "the New Fort," Temnos, Cilli,

¹ A festival celebrated at Athens and most Ionian cities by the members of each "phratry" or clan, lasting three days, on the last day grown up youths were formally admitted as members of the phratry. The festival was held in the month Pyanepseion (late October and early November)

² Ieraps so called from a mountain in Aeolis Iericion near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia

HERODOTUS

Λίγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Λίγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια.
αὗται ἔνδεκα Λιολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι μία γὰρ
σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώρων· οἵσαν γὰρ
καὶ αὗται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ
Λιολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω
Ἰώρων, ὥρέων δὲ ηκουσαν οὐκ ὅμοιώς.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὕδε ἀπέβαλον Λιολέες. Κολο-
φωνίους ἄιδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόν-
τας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ
φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρ-
ναίους ὄρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ,
τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν.
Βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Λιολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρή-
σαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλεπεῖν
Σμύρνην Λιολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρ-
ναίων ἐπιδιεῖδοντο σφέας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλιες καὶ
ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιῆτας.

151. Αὗται μέν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Λιολίδες
πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱδη οἰκημένων κεχωρί-
δαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε
μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβου νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἔκτην
ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἦνδρα πόδισαν
Μηθυμναῖοι ἔόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία
οἰκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἐκατὸν νήσοισι καλεο-
μένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μέν νυν καὶ Τενε-
δίοισι, κατά περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι,
ἥν δεινὸν οὐδέν τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι πόλισι ἔαδε
κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἐπεσθαι τῇ ἀν οὐτοις ἔξηγέωνται.

Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitana, Aegaeae, Myrin, Grane¹
 These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number, these, too, the mainland cities, were once twelve, but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians. These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the climate was not so good.

150 Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Certain men of Colophon, worsted in civil strife and banished from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls, they then shut the gates and so won the city. Then all the Aeolians came to recover it, and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians should receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and quit the city. This being done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnacans among themselves and made them citizens of their own.

151 These then are the Aeolian cities of the mainland, besides those that are situate on Ida, and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them (there was a sixth on Lesobs, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinsfolk of Methymna), there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred isles"² as they are called. The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities took counsel together and resolved to follow whither the Ionians should lead.

the
land.

152. Ός δὲ ἀπέκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτιην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Λίσιλέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρηστάσμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὃ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἀν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιῆτέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὖς κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἵ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἄγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπειπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμάτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοφομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνεις ἔόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενοι δέ μιν εἴπειν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιῆτην "Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὅμινύntες ἔξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἦν ἔγῳ ὕγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεια, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὡνῆ τε καὶ πρήστι χρέωνται αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἔώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή· μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας

152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaeans, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedaemonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,

τητον ἔοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν
ἔστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἔγω τε ἐπριηξα
καὶ ἔγω κεφαλῇ ἀγαμάξας φέρω τὰ δὲ νῦν
παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ
ἐπέτρεψας Σύρδις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυ-
δοῖσι δὲ σύγγρωμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον,
ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι ἄπειπε
μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἄρχια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε
δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἶμασι καὶ
κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρί-
ζειν τε καὶ ψύλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς
παιδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὡς βασιλεῦ γυναικας
ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν δύσαι γεγορότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί
τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι."

156. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἴρε-
τώτερα ταῦτα εύρισκων Λυδοῖσι ἡ ἀνδραποδι-
σθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος δτι ἦν μὴ
ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνη, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν
μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὑστερον
κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀπο-
στάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κῦρος δὲ
ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ
πειθεσθαι καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον,
ταῦτα τέ οἱ ἐνετέλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ
Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἔξανδραποδίσασθαι
τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οὐ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σύρδις
ἔστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα
ἀγαγεῖν παρ̄ ἔωντόν.

157. "Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλά-
μενος ἀπῆλαυνε ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ
πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἔωντὸν ιόντα
δείσας οἰχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ

the former and of the latter offence For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty, but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong, let him therefore be punished But let the Lydians be pardoned, and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you, send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre playing and song and dance and huckstering Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men, and thus you need not fear lest they revolt

156 Such counsel Croesus gave Cyrus, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves, he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king's purpose, and feared that even if the Lydians should now escape they might afterwards revolt and be destroyed by the Persians Cyrus was pleased by this counsel, he abated his anger and said he would follow Croesus advice Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he charged him to give the Lydians the commands which Croesus advised, further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis, and as for Pactyes himself, to bring him by whatever means into his presence alive

157 Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme

Μῆδος ἐλάσσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραι ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὑρε ἔτι ἔοντας τὸν ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπειπτε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι ἥν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντίξιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένου, τῷ "Ιωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τὸν Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὄκοιόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὄρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι ὄρμημένου δὲ ταύτη τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τὸν θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστήριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. "Οὐαξ, ἥλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἵκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν ἔξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἵκέτην

Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with whatever part he had of Cyrus' army and found Pactyes followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands, and by his order they changed their whole manner of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be given up. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what counsel they should take, for there was there an ancient place of divination, which all the Ionians and Aeolians were wont to consult, the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbour of Panormus.

158 The men of Cyme then sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that should be most pleasing to the gods, and the oracle replied that they must give Pactyes up to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about giving him up. But while the greater part were for doing this, Aristodicus son of Heracles, a notable man among the citizens, stayed the men of Cyme from this deed, for he disbelieved the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke untruly, till at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus.

159 When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians, and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold

ἔς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἀν τὸ
ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῆ ἀτρεκέως ὄχοτερα ποι-
έωμεν." δ· μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὃ δ' αὐτὶς τὸν
αὐτὸν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι
Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος
ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε περιών τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ
ἔξαίρεε τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νειοσ-
σευμένα ὄρνιθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ
αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γε-
νέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον,
λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί
τάδε τολμᾶς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἵκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ
κερατίζεις;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς
ταῦτα εἶπεν "Ωναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὗτος τοῖσι ἵκέτησι
βοηθεῖεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἵκέτην ἐκδι-
δόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὐτὶς ὑμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε "Ναι
κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς
μὴ τὸ λαιπὸν περὶ ἵκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἐλθῆτε ἐπὶ τὸ
χρηστήριον."

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἥκουσαν οἱ Κυ-
μαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδάντες ἀπολέσθαι
οὔτε παρ' ἔωντοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέσθαι, ἐκπέμ-
πουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι
ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι
τὸν Πακτύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή·
οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως οὐ γὰρ
ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησ-
σόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς

iv. ἐνθεῦτεν
πασθεὶς ὑπὸ^{τῷ} Ἀταρνέος

to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not." Thus Aristodiceus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodiceus did as he had already purposed, he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodiceus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodiceus had his answer ready. "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus sacre thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

160 When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene, for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price, I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled, for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytilenaeans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district

HEPACRITUS

τῆς Μυαιῆς, Λίσθου ἀντίος. Πακτίην μὲν τὸν παραδεξάμενοι εἰς Ηέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φιλικῇ, θελούτες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξας. ἦν δὲ χρόιος οὗτος οἵστιοι ὄλιγος γηρόμορφος, ὅτε Χίων οἴδειε ἐς τοῦ Λαπρίεος τούτου οὗτε οὐλᾶς κριθίων πρόλιστιν ἔσπειστο Θεῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε πέμπατα ἐσστετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐιθεύτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἵρων τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χωρῆς ταύτης γιρόμενα.

161. Χίοι μὲν τὸν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς σιμολιορκήσπιτας Ταβαλού, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηναὶς ἐξηδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πάντα ἐπέδραμε ληίην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγηνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πούσῳ τελευτῇ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, "Αρταγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γειος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐών Μήδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος οὗτος ὥρη τότε ὑπὸ Κυρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἱρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· δκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίη Ἰωνίης ἐτεχείρησε οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες οὗτοι ναυτιλίησι μακρῆσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἔχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰθηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλησι μηνὸν ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων,

in Mysia over against Lesbos The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus, and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite

161. Pactyes being then delivered up by the Chians, Mazares presently led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it up to his army to pillage, and Magnesia likewise Immediately after this he died of a sickness

162 After his death Harpagus came down to succeed him in his command, a Median like Mazares; this is that Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the Median king at that unnatural feast, and who helped to win the kingship for Cyrus This man was now made general by Cyrus When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by building mounds, he would drive the men within their walls and then build mounds against the walls and so take the cities

163 Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he assailed These Phocaean were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus,¹ not sailing in round freight-ships but in fifty-oared vessels When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the

¹ The lower valley of the Guadalquivir Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv 8) calls Gadira.

τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὄγδωκούτα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέεις οἱ Φωκαιέες οὗτο δῆ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωντοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτο γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὃ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὕξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ὑφειδέως καὶ γάρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἔξεποιήθη. ὃ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὡς ἐπῆλασε τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προΐσχόμενος ἔπεια ὡς οἱ καταχράτεροι εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαχεῖνα ἔνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἰκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες περιημεκτέοντες τὴν δουλοσύνην ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· εὖ φ' δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευνον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὃ δ' Ἀρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν, δημως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. εὖ φ' ὁν δέ Ἀρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπίγαγε τὴν στρατιὴν, οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναικας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ιρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἡ λίθος ἡ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἐσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty.¹ The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

164. In such a manner was the Phocaeans' wall fully made. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one bastion of the wall and dedicate one house. But the Phocaeans, very wroth at the thought of slavery, said they desired to take counsel for one day, and then they would answer; but while they were consulting, Harpagus must, they said, withdraw his army from the walls. Harpagus said that he knew well what they purposed to do, but that nevertheless he would suffer them to take counsel. So while Harpagus withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty oared ships, placed in them their children and women and all movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and all things therein dedicated save bronze or stonework or painting, and then themselves embarked and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, thus left uninhabited.

¹ A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says "I would not... rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years."

165. Οἱ δὲ φωκαιές, ἐπείτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς
γῆσσους τὰς Οἰρούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἔθούλοιτο
ἀγευμένοις πωλέσι, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμ-
πόριον γέγονται, ηδὲ αὐτῶν γῆσσος ἀποκληισθῆ-
τούτου εἴτεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ φωκαιές ἐστέλλοντο
ἐς Κύριον ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρῳ εἴκοσι ἑτεσι πρό-
τεροι τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀγεστήσαντο πόλιν,
τῇ οὐγομπῇ ἦν Ἀλαλή. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηγι-
καῦτα ἥδη τετελευτίκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν
Κύριον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην
κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ηδὲ
ἔφραύρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν
πόλιν, μέτα δέ, ως τοῦτο σφι ἔξεργαστο, ἐποιή-
σαντο ἴσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἐωυτῷ
τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον
κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὡμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην
ἥξειν πρὶν ηδὲ τὸν μύδρον τούτον ἀναφανῆναι.
στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύριον, ὑπερη-
μίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἐλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἰκτος τῆς
πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἥθεων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ
γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὅπισσα ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ
δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ δρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν
Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

166. Επείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύριον ἀπίκουντο, οἴκεον
κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα
πέντε, καὶ ἵρα ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἥγον γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἄπαντας, στρατεύ-
ονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι
Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, οἵτε οὐκέτεροι ἔξή-
κόντα. οἱ δὲ φωκαιές πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ
τὰ πλοῖα, ἔόντα ἀριθμὸν ἔξηκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς
τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισ-

165 The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae¹; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cyrrhus,² where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arginthomus was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Hippalus had entrusted the defence of the city, and thus being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sink in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cyrrhus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

166 And when they came to Cyrrhus they dwelt there for five years as one body with those who had first come, and they founded temples there. But they harried and plundered all their neighbours wherefore the Tyrrhenians and Carchedonians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them each with sixty ships. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They joined

¹ Between Chios and the mainland

² Corsica.

γύιτων ἐδε τῇ γαμαχίῃ Καδμείη τις νίκη τοῖσι
Φωκαιεῦσι ἔγέιστο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσερίκοντά σφι
νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι
ήσαν ἄχρηστοι ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἑρβό-
λους· καταπλῶσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίγην ἀνέ-
λαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
κτῆσιν ὅσην οἰαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἀγειν,
καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπέτες τὴν Κύρουν ἐπλεον ἐς
Ῥήγιον.

167. Τῷ δὲ διαφθαρεισέων γεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας
οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχοι], τῶν
δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι]¹ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν
πολλῷ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἔξαγαγόντες κατέ-
λευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοις πάντα τὰ παρι-
όντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευ-
σθέντες ἐκέατο, ἔγινετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα
καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια
καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς
ἐπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτύδα.
ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν
οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγί-
ζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ
ἱππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων
τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ
Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν δρμώμενοι ἐκτή-
σαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν
Τέλη καλέεται· ἐκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἄνδρὸς
Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρουν σφι ἡ
Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἔόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν
μῆσον.

¹ The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνοι and έλαχοι.

battle, and the Phocaeans¹ won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory¹; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving Cyrenus they sailed to Rhegium.

167. As for the crews of the destroyed ships, the Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them: and by far the greater share of them falling to the Tyrrhenian city of Agylla,² the Agyllaeans led them out and stoned them to death. But after this all from Agylla, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, desiring to heal their offence, and the Pythian priestess bade them do what the people of Agylla to this day perform: for they pay great honours to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games, and horse-races. Such was the end of this portion of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from thence and gained possession of that Oenotrian³ city which is now called Hyele⁴, this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cyrenus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

¹ Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.

² Later Caero in Etruria.

³ Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history). ⁴ Later Elea (Velia).

168. Φωκαίης μέν τυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ οὕτω
ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τίγιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γάρ σφέων εἶδε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος
"Αρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἰχοντο
πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν
πόλιν "Λιβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόιητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ^{την}
Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν
ἐν "Λιβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

169. Οὗτοι μέν τυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἰωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκουτο "Αρπάγῳ κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἄγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἔκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐστωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἔκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλησίοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται,
αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἥγον.
οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἥπερ φῳ "Ιωνας ἔχειρώσατο "Αρπαγος,
οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἰωνες καταρρωδήσαντες
ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωσι χρῆσιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν "Ελλήνων μᾶλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ "Ιωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδὼ καὶ ἐπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένοντι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ

168 Thus, then, it fired with the Ionian Phocaea
 The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans
 when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Chazomenie, yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera

169 These were the only Ionians who, being unable to endure slavery, left their native lands The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and bore themselves gallantly, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were worsted and their cities taken, remained each where he was and did as they were commanded The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow Thus was Ionia for the second time enslaved and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered themselves to Cyrus

170 When the Ionians despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sirdo and then found one city for all Ionians thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity, but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he

"Ιωνίη οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερῆν τοι εἶτι ἐσομένην.
αὗτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γυώμη ἐπὶ διε-
φθαρμένοισι "Ιωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸν
ἡ διαφθαρῆναι "Ιωιίζην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου
ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς
ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον "Ιωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ
εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι "Ιωνίης), τὰς
δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομί-
ζεσθαις κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἰεν· οὗτοι μὲν διῆ σφι
γυώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Αρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος "Ιωιίην
ἐποιέετο στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Κάρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ
Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ "Ιωνας καὶ Αἰόλεας.
εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κάρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἵπτειρον
ἐκ τῶν υῆσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατή-
κοσι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νιῆσους,
φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, δσοι καὶ ἐγὼ
δυνατός εἴμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ
δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἀτε
διῇ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐ-
τυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογι-
μωτατον τῶν ἔθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα
τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μᾶλιστα., καί σφι τριξὶ²
ἔξευρηματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ "Ελληνες ἐχρήσαντο·
καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρες
εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ
σημῆια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὅχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ
ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι τέως δὲ ἀνευ ὄχανων ἐφόρεον
τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶ-
σθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτένοισι οἰηκίζοντες, τερὶ τοῖσι
αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὄμοισι περικεί-

said) no hope of freedom for them Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians, and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent, he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships Thus Bias and Thales advised

171 Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands, for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders, till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leatheren baldries which they slung round

'Ιωνίη οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἀσομένην.
 αὗτη μὲν Βίαιτος τοῦ Πριηγέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διε-
 φθαρμένοισι· 'Ιωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸν
 ἡ διιφθαρῆται· 'Ιωιίην Θάλεω ἄνδρὸς Μιλησίου
 ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀιέκαθεν γένος ἔόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς
 ἐκέλευε ἐν βαυλευτήριον 'Ιωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ
 εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἴναι 'Ιωνίης), τὰς
 δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομί-
 ζεσθαι κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἴεν σύντοι μὲν δῆ σφι
 γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Δρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος 'Ιωιίην
 ἐποιέετο στρατηγίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυρίους καὶ
 Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ 'Ιωνας καὶ Λιόλέας.
 εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἵπτειρον
 ἐκ τῶν νήσων, τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔόντες Μίνω κατή-
 κοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους,
 φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, δσον καὶ ἐγὼ
 δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ
 δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλιήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε
 δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐ-
 τυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογι-
 μωτατον τῶν ἔθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα
 τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα., καὶ σφι τριξὶ²
 ἔξευρηματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ "Ελληνες ἔχρήσαντο·
 καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες
 εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ
 σημῆια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ δχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ
 ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι τέως δὲ ἀνευ δχάνων ἐφόρεον
 τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵ περ ἔώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶ-
 σθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι
 αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἄριστεροῖσι ὕμοισι περικεί-

said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders; till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leatheren baldries which they slung round

μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἔξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκουντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἔωνταν εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς καστηγυῆτοισι ἔοντι τοῖσι Καρσὶ· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἔοντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὄμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἔμοι εἰσὶ, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἥλικήν τε καὶ φιλότητα εἴλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πύσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἴδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἵρων ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατροῖσι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

the neck and over the left shoulder.¹ Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but they themselves do not consent to it, but hold that they are aboriginal dwellers on the mainland and ever bore the name which they bear now, and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylissæ, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though they learned to speak the same language as the Carians.

172 The Caunians, to my mind, are aborigines of the soil, but they themselves say that they came from Crete. Their speech has grown like to the Carian, or the Carian to theirs (for that I cannot clearly determine), but in their customs they are widely severed from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in such companies as accord with their ages and friendships—men, women, and children. Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them, but presently when they were otherwise minded, and would worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armour and went together as far as the boundaries of Calynda, smiting the air with their spears and saying that they were casting out the stranger gods.

¹ This is the management of the Homeric “man covering” shield, as shown in the *Iliad*. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm pit, by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.

173. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τώρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι). διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἔξηλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκουντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἔως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἥρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἔξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίουνος, ἔξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὗτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμήν Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἔωντονς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἔωντὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας, καὶ ἦν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δοῦλω συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναικα ἔινην ἡ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μέν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε δοῖ Ελλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκέουσι· οἰκέουσι

173 Such are their fashions. The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans, who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours, but after the coming from Athens of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are in part Cretan and in part Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men, they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers, and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother. Nay, if a woman of full rights marry a slave, her children are deemed pure-born, and if a true-born Lycian man take a stranger wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured, though he be the first in the land.

174 Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among

δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κυίδιοι.
οἱ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς
πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργυμένης
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυθασσίης, ἐούσης τε
πάσης τῆς Κυιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιορόου (τὰ
μὲν γάρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμονός Κεραμεικὸς
κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην
τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὡν δὴ ὀλίγου τοῦτο,
ἔὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κυίδιοι
ἐν ᾧ "Αρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο,
βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ
πᾶσά σφι ἐγίνετο· τῇ γάρ ή Κυιδίη χώρη ἐς τὴν
ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταῦτη δὲ ίσθμός ἐστι τὸν ὥρυσ-
σον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κυ-
δίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερου ἐφαίνοντο
τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε
ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς
ὅφθαλμοὺς θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπειτα δὲ
Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησσομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον.
ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κυίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν
τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε.

"Ισθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε·
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κυίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε
ὅρυγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπιόντε σὺν
τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλι-
καρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι δκως τι μέλλοι
ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιο-
κοισι, ἡ ἵρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε.
τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην

those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedæmon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubissus, and all but a little part of the Cnidian territory is sea girt, for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes. Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about five furlongs wide, in order that so their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment, for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work, and seeing that the workers were more often hurt and less naturally than ordinary, some in other parts, but most in the eyes, by the breaking of stones, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that so hindered them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse:

"Nor wall nor dig across your isthmus, long ago
Your land had been an isle, if Zeus had willed
it so."

At this answer from the priestess the Cnidians ceased from their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance.

175 There were also certain folk of Pedisa, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only

ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ὀιτέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πριήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, δρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176. Ιληδασέες μὲν νῦν χρόνῳ ἔξαιρέθησαν· Λίκιοι δέ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὄλιγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δέ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνῆλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναικας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἐπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δειπούντες, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἴναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὄγδώκοντα ἴστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὄγδώκοντα ἴστιαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἀρπαγος, παραπλησίως δέ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμεμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀρπαγος ἀνάστata ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριεῖς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παριήσομεν· τὰ δέ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178. Κῦρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ μέν κον καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὄνομαστότατον καὶ ἴσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλήια κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλὼν, ἐοῦσα

men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

176. The Pedasian stronghold being at length taken, and Harpagus having led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him, and did valorous deeds in their battle against odds; but being worsted and driven into the city they gathered into the citadel their wives and children and goods and servants, and then set the whole citadel on fire. Then they swore each other great oaths, and sallying out they fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number—all saving eighty households—are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it chanced were at that time away from the city, and thus they survived. Thus Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in somewhat like manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians.

177. Harpagus then made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country Cyrus himself subdued every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus most trouble and are worthiest to be described.

178. When Cyrus had brought all the mainland under his sway, he attacked the Assyrians. There are in Assyria many other great cities, but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been set after the destruction of Nineus.¹ Babylon was a city such as I will now

¹ 606 r.c. Nineus = Nineveh.

δὲ τοῦ ἵησοῦ βωμός ἔστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἔλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὐθέται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθῆνα μοῦνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζουνος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὄρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἕπτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριάς διώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἰδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Τσάσπεος ἐπιβούλευσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Εέρ-ξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἐλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κους καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνῆμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναικες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἀρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῆσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἔόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὄρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἀστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύ-

Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god, and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold twelve cubits high. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not, Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

184 Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history), who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis; it was she who built dykes on the plain, a notable work, before that the whole plain was wont to be flooded by the river.

185 The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record, and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could

νατο μάλιστα, πρώτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ίθύν, ὃς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἀνωθεν διώρυχας ὄρυξασα οὗτω δὴ τι ἐποιήσε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τῷ τίνα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὔνομα ἔστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἵ ἀν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶια, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὑψος ὅσοι τι ἔστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶιος ὄρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὄδωρ αἰεὶ ὄρυσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὄρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὄρυγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δέ οἱ ὄρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὡς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπάς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶια, ἐκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκηται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δέ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἱ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μῆδων ὄδου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς

for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city, this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages, the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericci. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work, and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs, all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186 So she made the deep river her protection, and from this work grew another which she added to

πόλεις έουσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τούτερον διαβῆγαι, χρῆν πλοῖῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἔγω δοκέω, ὄχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπειτε γάρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μιημόσυνον τόδε ἀλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλπιπτο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ὡς δέ οἱ ἡσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὄρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὥρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβύσσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοις ὄπτησις κατὰ τοὺς αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξαπο οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολυβδῷ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὃν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέσκον τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὄρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέουν ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιητησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187. Ἡ δὲ αὕτη αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφου ἐωυτὴ κατε-

it. Her city was divided into two portions by the river which flowed through the centre. Whenever in the days of the former rulers one would pass over from one part to the other, he must cross in a boat, and this, as I suppose, was troublesome. But the queen provided also for this, when the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn, and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry, she bricked with baked bricks, like those of the wall, the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river, also about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed, but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake, thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge ready for them.

187 There was a trick, moreover, which this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance or

σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψις δὲ ἐσ τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἔμενον ὑστερον γινομένων Βαβυλώνος βασιλέων ἦν σπαι ἵση χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὄκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας ἡγε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινοι·" οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐσ Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιλής· Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλησι ταύτησι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι δὲ πύλησι ταύτησι οὐδὲν ἔχρατο τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστός τε ἔας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἀν νεκρῶν θῆκας ἀνέῳγες·" αὗτη μὲν νῦν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ο δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τούνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἄμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλους οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψήμένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἄμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅκη ἀν ἐλαύνῃ ἔκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

the city which was most used, with a writing graven on the tomb, which was this : " If my king of Babylon in future time lack money, let him open this tomb and take whatso money he desires: but let him not open it except he lack; for it will be the worse for him " This tomb remained untouched till the kingship fell to Darius He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, nor take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to the deed The cause of his not using the gate was that the dead body must be over his head as he passed through Having opened the tomb, he found there no money, but only the dead body, with this writing " Wert thou not insatiate of wealth and basely desirous of gain, thou hadst not opened the coffins of the dead " Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen

188 Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Libynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria Now when the Great King marches he goes well provided with food and flocks from home, and water from the Choaspes which flows past Susa is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks This water of the Choaspes¹ is boiled, and very many four wheeled waggons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king whithersoever he goes at any time

189 When Cyrus on his way to Babylon came

¹ Modern Kerkha

Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἔόντα νησιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἵρων ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσθάς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὃ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἔχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὕβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὗτο δῆ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυν οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαιρεε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὡγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόποι, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἰα δὲ ὅμιλον πολλοῦ ἔργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἔργαζόμενοι.

190. Ως δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἔξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἕαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὗτο δὴ ἤλαινε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἄγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἰα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐπὶ πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ὑπερμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὄρεοις αὐτὸν παντὶ εἴθιει ομοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα.

to the river Gyndes,¹ which rises in the mountains of the Matiem and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, which again passes the city of Opis and issues into the Red Sea —when Cyrus, I say, essayed to cross the Gyndes, it being there navigable, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river that he might win through it, but the stream whelmed him and swept him under and away At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes, then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed, yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished

190 Then at the opening of the second spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by parting it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched at last against Babylon The Babylonians sallied out and resisted him, and when in his march he came near to their city, they joined battle, but they were worsted and driven within the city There, because they knew already that Cyrus was no man of peace, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had

¹ Modern Diala.

προεστάξηντο σειτία ἔτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὐτοι μὲν λόγου εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορήσῃ ἐνελέχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγυιωμένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδέν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δὴ ὃν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοιτε ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἡν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ δπισθε αὐτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἔτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ρέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτη ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραιγέσας ἀπῆλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐσύσαν ἔλος, τὸ ὑρχαῖον ρέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστίσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ρέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονευοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐι μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ἦ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οἱ δ' ἀν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἀν κάκιστα· κατακλησαντες γὰρ ἄν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἔχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αίμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα-

stored provision enough for very many years; so now they cared nothing for the siege, and Cyrus knew not what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage.

191 Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did—he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bide his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight, and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end, for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river.

βον ὃν σφέας ὡς ἐι κύρτη. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἀποσ-
δοκήτοι σφι πιρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὃν δὲ
μεγάλεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτη
οἰκημένων, τῷ περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος
ἔαλωκότων τοὺς το μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βα-
βυλωνίων οὐ μαιθάρειν ἔαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν
γιρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὄρτην, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν
χρόνον καὶ ἐι εὐπαθείησι εἴραι, ἐσ οὐ δὴ καὶ τὸ
κύρτα ἐπύθοιτο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον
ἀραιρητο. τὴν δὲ δύτειραν τῷ Βαβυλωνίων πολ-
λοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἔστι, ἐν
δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλέι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν τροφῇν
αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραιρηται, πύρεξ τοῦ
φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυνάδεκα ὥν μηνῶν
ἔοντων ἐν τὸν ἐμιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας
τρέφει μιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν
μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη
ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἀλλης Ἀσίης
καὶ ἡ ἄρχῃ τῆς χώρης ταῦτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι
στρατηγίην καλέουσι, ἐστὶν ἀπασέων τῶν ἄρχεων
πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριταιταίχμη τῷ
Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον
ἄργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἄρταβη
μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἄρταβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν,
χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξ τρισὶ¹
Ἀττικῆσι. ἵπποι δέ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἡσαν ἴδιῃ, πάρεξ
τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς
θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἔξαισχίλιαι
καὶ μύριαι· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἐκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων
τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο

banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it, all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

192 Thus was Babylon then for the first time taken. There are many proofs of the wealth of Babylon, but this in especial. All the land ruled by the great King is parcelled out for the provisioning of himself and his army, besides that it pays tribute now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four out of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight. Thus the wealth of Assyria is one third of the whole wealth of Asia. The governorship, which the Persians call “satrapy,” of this land is by far the greatest of all the governorships, seeing that the daily revenue of Tritantaechmes son of Artabazus, governing this province by the king's will, was an artaba full of silver (the artaba is a Persian measure, containing more by three Attic choenixes than an Attic medimnus),¹ and besides war chargers he had in his stables eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand brood mares, each stallion serving twenty mares. Moreover he kept so great a number of Indian dogs

¹ The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons, it contained 48 *χοῖνικες*

δή τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἔουσαι ἔτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετίχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοι-
αῦτα μὲν τῷ ἀρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε
ἔόντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Λασσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ,
καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τούτο·
ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ
λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατύ περ ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς
τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνησίοισι
ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρῃ πᾶσα, κατά
περ η Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέμηται ἐς διώρυχας καὶ
ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ ηνησιπέρητος, πρὸς
ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς
ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτεω, ἐς τὸν Γίγριν,
παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἐστι δὲ χωρέων
αὗτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν
Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν . . .¹ τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα
δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκένην
οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος
καρπὸν ὡδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε ἐπὶ διη-
κόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῦ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀριστα-
αὗτῇ ἐωυτῇς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ
δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων
τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων.
ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγα-
θος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μηῆμην οὐ ποιήσομαι,
εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-
λωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἔχόμενα

¹ Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of τὰ δάλλα δένδρεα not being quite clear.

that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193 There is but little rain in Assyria. It is thus which nourishes the roots of the corn, but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fulness. It is not so in Egypt, where the river itself rises and floods the fields. In Assyria they are watered by hand and by swinging beams.¹ For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable; it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, by which stood the city of Ninus. This land is of all known to us by far the most fertile in corn. Trees it does not even essay to grow, fig, vine, or olive, but its corn is so abundant that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad, and for millet and sesame, I will not say, though it is known to me, to what a height they grow, for I am well aware that even what I have said respecting corn is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited

¹ That is by the "shadoof" a familiar object to travellers on the Nile, a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.

ές ἀ-ιστίην πολλήι α-ἴκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐλπίδι πλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίηκες πεφυκύτες ἢν μὲν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ τλεῖνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοιίκων τοὺς ἔργειας "Ελλῆνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν τεριδέουσι τὴσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοιίκων, ἥπατεταίνη τέ σφι ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλαιον ἐσδύιων καὶ μὴ ἀορρέη ὁ λαρτὸς τοῦ φοιίκος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔργειες κατά περ δῆ οἱ δλυνθοι.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἄπαντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν τόλειν, ἔρχομαι φράσων· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, τάντα σκύτηα. ἐτεάν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἵτέης ταμόμενοι τοιήσωνται, τεριτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἀδάφεος τρόπου, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίοντες οὔτε πρωρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν το πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οῖνον πλέους ἴθύνεται δε ὑπό τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀιδρῶν ὄρθων ἐστεώτων, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἐσω ἐλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὃ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὅνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι

Babylonia They use no oil save what they make from sesame¹ There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date bearing palm, that so the gall fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall, for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall flies in their fruit

194 I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold, they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo, and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great, the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents² burden There is a live ass in each boat, or

¹ Sesame-oil or ² Boar oil is still in common use in the East

² The Attic talent = about 15 lbs av. drachms, the Arkadian = about 82

πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὡν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶν τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὅπιστος ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκέντι λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίγεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενον, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίησι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πάν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἔκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἔκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἡ μῆλον ἡ ρόδον ἡ κρίνον ἡ αἰετὸς ἡ ἄλλοτι· ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὃδε κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὃδε κατὰ γυνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐιετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι· κατὰ κώμας ἔκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἔκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὡς ἀν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίσατο γάμων ὥραιαι, ταύτας δκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο δμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἔκάστην

more than one in the larger So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds, the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way

195 Such then are their boats For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet, over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle, he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps, the whole body is perfumed Every man has a seal and a carven staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle no one carries a staff without a device

196 Such is the equipment of their persons I will now speak of their established customs The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which is I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria It is this once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first

κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, τρῶτο μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὗτη εύρουσα πολλὸι, χρυσίον πρηγεῖη, ἄλλην ἀν ἐκήρυσσε ἡ μετ', ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτην ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐτὶ συνοικήσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὑδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἄλληλοις ἔξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δῆμον ἔσκοι ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἀν χρῆματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἀν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἣ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἐμπήρος εἴη, καὶ ταῦτην ἀν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἀν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εῦμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἔξεδίδοσσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεῳ βούλοιτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἔγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφερόατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἔξῆν δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνεισθαι. ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτος σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἔξευρή κασι τεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἴνα μὴ ἀδικαῖεν αὐτὰς μηδὲ εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται].¹ ἐπείτε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἔκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

¹ The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here, they might more naturally come after οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι above

the fairest of all, and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest, the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill favoured damsels and money therewith, for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least, the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill favoured and the cripples But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired This then was their best custom, but it does not continue at this time, they have invented a new one [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city], since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters

197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίη ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμινοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἵητροῖσι προσιόντες ὡν πρὸς τὸν κάμινοντα συμβουλεύονται περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἐπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμινων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύονται καὶ παραινέονται ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιῆσας ἔξεφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἵη ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν καὶ μνοντα οὖ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἀν ἐτείρηται ἴητια νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆιοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὄσάκις δ' ἀν μιχθῆ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐώντοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμὶ ημα καταγιζόμενον ἔζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ιη γυιὴ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιέει, δρθρον δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἄμφοτεροι ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄφονται πρὶν ἀν λουσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199. ¹Ο δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωιοῖσι ὅδε δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναικα ἐπιχωρίην ἴζομένην ἐς ἵρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείρῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιεν μειαὶ ἀιαμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλησι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφροι ἔουσαι, ἐτὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρησι ἐλα σασαι τρὸς τὸ ἵρὸν ἔστασι θεραπηιη δέ σφι δτισθε ἐτεται τολλιή αἱ δὲ τλεῦιες τοιεῦσι ὥδε ἐν τεμέιει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφαιον τερι τῇσι κεφαλῆσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος τολλαὶ γυναι κεσ· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τροσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ὑπέρχονται

¹ Three sixteenth century MS's omit the whole of II. ii
cl. vi. ter

197 I come now to the next wisest of their customs having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market place, then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same ill as the sick man, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered of it or seen others so recover None may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking what is his sickness

198 The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like to the dirges of Egypt Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves, they will touch no vessel before this is done This is the custom also in Arabia

199 The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads, there is a great multitude of women coming and going, passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice

σχοινοτείνες ἐὲ ἔιξοδοι πάντα τρόπου ὅπων
ἔχουσι διὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, διὸ ὡς οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξι-
ούστες ἀκλέγοιται ἕτερα ἐπειδὴ οὐκται γυνή, οὐ πρό-
τερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία η̄ τίς οἱ ξεῖνοι
ἀργύριοι ἐμβαλάντες ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῆ ἔξω τοῦ
ιροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἶπεν τοσοῦτες "Ἐπι-
καλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ
καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύ-
ριον μέγαθος ἔστι ὅσον ὁρῇ οὐ γάρ μὴ ἀπώσηται
οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἔστι· γίνεται γάρ ιρὸν τοῦτο τὸ
ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλοῖται ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ
ἀποδοκιμᾶ συδέντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ μιχθῆ, ἀποσιωσα-
μένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῷπὸ
τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγη τί οἱ δώσεις ὡς μιν λάμ-
ψει. ὅσαι μὲν τυν εἴδεος τε ἐπαρμέναι εἰσὶ¹
καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ
ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνοι πολλὸν προσμέρονται
οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι καὶ γάρ τριέ-
τεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μέρονται.
ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ Κύπρου ἔστι παραπλήσιος
τούτῳ νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι
κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν
ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἵχθὺς μούνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἀν
θηρεύσαντες αὐγήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε
ἐσβάλλουσι· ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λειχαντες ὑπέροισι
σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ δος μὲν ἀν βούληται αὐτῶν
ἄτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει, δὲ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον
διπτήσας.

201. Ως δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέρ-
γαστο, ἐπειθύμησε Μασταγέτας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιή-
σασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται

When a woman has once taken her place there she goes not away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap and had intercourse with her outside the temple, but while he casts the money, he must say, "I demand thee in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite) It matters not what be the sum of the money, the woman will never refuse, for that were a sin, the money being by this act made sacred So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects none After their intercourse she has made herself holy in the goddess's sight and goes away to her home, and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfil the law, for some of them remain for three years, or four There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus

200 These are established customs among the Babylonians Moreover, there are in the country three tribes that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun, then after casting them into a mortar they bray them with pestles and strain all through linen Then whoever so desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it, others bake it like bread

201 When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae These are

είναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἥῶ τε καὶ
ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ,
ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ
Σκυθικὸν λέγοντες τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἴραι.

202. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ
ἔλασσων εἴραι τοῦ Ἰστρου· ρήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ
Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι· εἴναι,
ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ
θέρος ὄρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δεν-
δρέων ἔξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι
ώραιον, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμεριγήν.
ἄλλα δέ σφι ἔξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε
τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἀν ἐς τῶντὸ συνέλθωσι
κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περι-
ιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὁσφραινομένους
δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου
μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁδῷ κατά περ Ἑλληνας τῷ
οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλ-
λον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ἐς ὅρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι
καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὗτη
λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ρέει
μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς
διώρυχας τὰς ἔξηκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε
ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἔξερεύεται τεσσεράκοντα,
τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς Ἐλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα
ἐκδιδοῦ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικήσθαι λέγουσι
ἰχθῦς ὡμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτε δὲ νομίζοντας
χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομά-
των τοῦ Ἀράξεω ρέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην
θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἔστι ἐπ' ἔωντῆς,
οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ

sud to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones, and some say that they are a Scythian people

202 The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food, and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes¹ flows from the country of the Matieni—as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

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¹The Araxes of this chapter appears to be from the description of its course the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 20, separating Cyrus kingdom from the Massagetae must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon) both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the quest on the river is referred to Essay I A. in the Appendix to Book I of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

είναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ
ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ,
ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ
Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέχων καὶ
ἔλασσων εἴναι τοῦ Ἰστρου· νῆσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ
Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι· εἰναι,
ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ
θέρος ὄρυσσοντες παντοῖς· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δεν-
δρέων ἔξευρημένους, σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι
ώραιον, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν.
ἄλλα δέ σφι ἔξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε
τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἀν ἐς τῶντὸν συνέλθωσι
κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περι-
ιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὅσφραινομένους
δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου
μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁδῷ κατά περ Ἐλληνας τῷ
οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλ-
λον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ἐς ὅρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι
καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὗτη
λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει
μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς
διώρυχας τὰς ἔξηκοντιέ τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε
ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἔξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα,
τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἔλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα
ἐκδιδοῦ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικήσθαι λέγουσι
ἰχθῦς ὡμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας
χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομά-
των τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην
θαλασσαν.

203. Η δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα· ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἔωυτῇ;
οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ

said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people

202 The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food; and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect - assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing Such is said to be their way of life The Araxes¹ flows from the country of the Matieni—as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea

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¹The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course the modern Ara. But the Araxes of ch 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon) both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX in the Appendix to Book I of Rawlinson's Herodotus

είναι καὶ ἀλκιμον, οἰκημένου δε πρὸς ἥῶ τε καὶ
ηλιον ἀνατολαῖς, τερην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ
αντίον δε Ἰστηδοιωι ἐνδρῶν εἴσῃ δε οἵτιες καὶ
Σκυθικον λέγουσι τοῦτο το ἔθνος εἶναι

202 Ὁ δε Ἀράξης λεγεται καὶ μεζων καὶ
ελασσων εἶαι τοῦ Ἰστρου νησους δε εν αὐτῳ
Λεσβῳ μεγαθεα παραπλησίας συχνας φασι εἴαι
εν δε αὐτῇσι ανθρωπους οι σιτεονται μεν ρίξας το
θερος ὄρυστοντες παιτοίας καρποὺς δε ἀπὸ δεν
δρεων εξευρημενους σφι εις φορβην κατατιθεσθαι
ωραιους καὶ τουτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινηι
ἄλλα δε σφι εξευρησθαι δει δρεα καρπους τοιουσδε
τινὰς φεροντα, τους ἐπειτε ἀν εις τῶντὸ συνελθωσι
κατα εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ανακαυσωνται κυκλω περι
ιζομενους επιβιλλειν επι το τῦρ ασφραινομειους
δε καταγιζομενου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ επιβαλλομειου
μεθυσκεσθαι τῇ οδμῇ κατα περ Ελληνας τῷ
οἴω, πλεῦνος δε επιβαλλομενου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλ
λον μεθυσκεσθαι εις ὃ ἐσ ὄρχησιν τε ανιστασθαι
καὶ εις αοιδην απικνεεσθαι τουτων μεν αὗτῃ
λεγεται διαιτα εἶναι ὃ δε Ἀραξης ποταμος ρεει
μεν ἐκ Ματιηνων δθεν περ ο Γυνδης τον ἐις τας
διωρυχας τας εξηκοντα τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διελαβε
ο Κύρος, στομασι δε ἔξερευγεται τεσσερακοι τα
τῶν τα παντα πλὴν ἑνος εις ἐλεα τε καὶ τενα γε
εκδιδοι ἐν τοῖσι ανθρωπους κατοικῆσθαι λεγουσι
ἰχθῦς ὡμους σιτεομενους, ἐσθῆτι δε ιομιζοντας
χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δερμασι το δὲ ἐν τῶν στομα
των τοῦ Ἀράξεω ρεει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐις τὴν Κασπιην
θάλασσαν

203 Η δε Καστιη θαλασσα εστι ἐπ' εωυτῇ
ου συμμισγουσα τη ετερη θαλασση την μεν γαρ

said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones, and some say that they are a Scythian people

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"Ελληνες γαυτέλλοιται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἔστι ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίη χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαΐδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἔστι αὐτῇ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὸν δρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθετο ύψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀιθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παιτοῖα ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὅλης ἀγριῆς ζώοντα· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἵδεντο παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἑσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατά περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῆξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀιθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατά περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμήην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον· τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἴθυσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205. Ἡν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν

beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one but the Caspian is separate and by itself Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days journey Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher mountains than any other range Many and all manner of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the wild wood Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for the painting of figures on their clothing, these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock

204 This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as sight can reach The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army For there were many reasons of weight that heartened and encouraged him so to do first, his birth, whereby he seemed to be something more than mortal man, and next, his victories in his wars, for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him

205 Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled

Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κύρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναικαὶ ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μινώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπειπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε, Ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.

206. Ἐχούστι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κῆρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. “”Ο βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις οὐ γάρ ἀν εἰδεῖς εἴ τοι ἐσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωντοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχεν ὅρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὕκων ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῆσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἡ δι’ ἡσυχίης εἰναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέας Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπει, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐσ τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δὲ ἡμέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐσ τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τώπιτὸ τοῦτο ποίεε.”” ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κύρος συνεκίλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐσ μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τώπιτὸ αἱ γυναικαὶ συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην.

by a queen, called Tomyris, who c husband was dead Cyrus sent a me sige with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the Kingdom of the Massagetae So when guile ruled him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae, he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over

206 But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message "Ceise, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent, for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage Ceise, and be king of your own country, and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days journey from the Araxes, and when that is done, cross into our country Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country

207. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην
 ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίνην τῇ
 προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. “Ω βασιλεῦ,
 εἴπον μὲν καὶ πρότερον τοι ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε
 τοι, τὸ ἄν ὄρῳ σφάλμα ἔον οἶκῷ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύ-
 ναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἔοντα
 ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάρατος δοκέεις
 εἴναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἄν εἴη
 πρῆγμα γνωμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφανεσθαι· εἰ δὲ
 ἔγινοκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἔτέρων
 τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ως κύκλος
 τῶν ἀνθρωπήιών ἐστι πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος
 δὲ οὐκ ἐῇ πιεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτύχειν. ἦδη ὧν ἔχω
 γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρῆγματος τὰ
 ἐμπαλιν ἡ οὔτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, δῆδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ
 κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν
 τὴν ἄρχην. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ· ὅτι νικῶντες Μασ-
 σαγέται οὐ τὸ ὄπίσω φεύξονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄρχας
 τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς τοσοῦτον
 ὅσον εἰ διαβάς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας,
 ἐποιο φεύγουσι. τώυτὸ γάρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ,
 ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾶς ἴθὺ τῆς
 ἄρχης τῆς Τομύριος. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηργημένου
 αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καρ-
 βύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης.
 οὗν ὡν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἀν
 ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πε-
 οῦσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ως γὰρ ἐγὼ πυν-
 θάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν
 ἀπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθέεις. τούτοισι

207 But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice, but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them, for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overtake them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,

ῶν τοῖσι ἄνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ὑφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ὑφειδέως οἴγου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομέροις τῇσι στρατιῇς τὸ φλαυρύτατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὶς ἔξαραχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γράμμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἴδομειοι ἀγαθὴν πολλὰ τρέψοιται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγύλων."

208. Γράμμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὶ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γράμμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὶ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἔξαραχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. Ηἱ μὲν δὴ ἔξαρε χώρες κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροίσοι ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ τῷ περ τὴν βασιληήντι ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτελάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν· καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἦν ή διάβασις η ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὁρθωθῆ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε δύψιν εῦδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὄρāν τῶν Τστάσπεος παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Τστάσπεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἔοντι ἄνδρὶ Ἀχαιμειὶδῃ ἦν τῶν παιδῶν Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἥλικίην ἔς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσησι· οὐ γὰρ εἰχέ κω ἥλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὧν δὴ ἔξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος,

I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

208 So these opinions contended, and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus, wherefore he bade Tomyris draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her, so she withdrew as she had promised before. Then he gave Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he purposed to leave his sovereignty, charging Cambyses to honour Croesus and entreat him well, if the crossing of the river against the Massagetae should not prosper. With this charge he sent the two back to Persia, and crossed the river, he and his army.

209 Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achæmenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old, this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when

έδίδου λόγον ἐωντῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὡς δέ οἱ
έδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας "Τστάσπεα
καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "Τστασπεῖ, παῖς σὸς
ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀρχῇ ἑάλωκε. ὡς
δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἔγω σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ¹
κήδουνται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφε-
ρόμενα. ηδη ὡν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εῦδων
εἶδον τῶν σῶν παῖδων τὸν προσβύτατον ἔχοντα
ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τῇ
Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκων
ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ
ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην
πορεύεο δπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκων, ἐπεὰν
ἔγω τύδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὡς μοι
καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον."

210. Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν
ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφηνε ὡς αὐτὸς
μὲν τελευτῆσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτη μέλλοι, ή δὲ βα-
σιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται
δὴ ὡν ὁ Τστάσπης τοῖσιδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη
ἄνηρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ
δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· δις ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων·
ἐποίησας ἔλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀρχε-
σθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι
ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βου-
λεύειν περὶ σέο, ἔγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι
αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλεαι."

211. Τστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ
διαβάς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἥγε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων
Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς
Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε

Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty, and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other, wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

210 So spoke Cyrus, thinking that Darius was plotting against him, but in truth heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was, and Darius to inherit his kingdom. So then Hystaspes answered him thus — "Sire, the gods forbid that any Persian born should plot against you; but if such there be, may he speedily perish, for you have made the Persians freemen instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects. But if your vision does indeed tell that my son is planning aught to your hurt, take him, he is yours to use as pleases you."

211 Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus, and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian

καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὅπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἴδοντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἔχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἰνου ηὖδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐξώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

212. Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιῆν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ταῖδα, πέμπουσα κείρυκα παρὰ Κύρου ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἄπληστε αἴματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρίγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτὸν ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὗτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεια κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. υῦν ὁν μεν εὖ παρανεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἀπίθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀξήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμυνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μέν σε ἔγὼ καὶ ἀπληστον ἔόντα αἴματος κορέσω."

213. Κύρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενεχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγου· ὃ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὡς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε

army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

212 When Tomyris heard what had befallen her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message — "Bloodthirsty Cyrus, be not uplifted by this that you have done, it is no matter for pride if the fruit of the vine—that fruit whereof you Persians drink even to madness, so that the wine passing into your bodies makes evil words to rise in a flood to your lips—has served you as a drug to master my son withal, by guile and not in fair fight. Now therefore take this word of good counsel from me: give me back my son and depart unpunished from this country, it is enough that you have done despite to a third part of the host of the Massagetae. But if you will not do this, then I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetae, that for all you are so insatiate of blood, I will give you your fill thereof."

213 This message was brought to Cyrus, who cared nothing for it. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, when his drunkenness left him and he knew his evil plight, entreated Cyrus that he might be loosed from his bonds, and this was granted.

τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἔως τοῦ.

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτῇ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὡς οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσίκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἔωστήν δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταῦτην τὴν μάχην, ὃσαι δὴ Βαρβύρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἵσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυρθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρώτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἄλληλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξεντο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῆσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειρίδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάνται μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ή τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταῦτη διεφθύρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτῇ, βασιλευσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλιόσασα ἄιμπτος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὑρε, ἐραπήκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμανομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλῶν δόλῳ· σὲ δὲ ἐγώ, κατά περ ἡπείλησα, αἴματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, δέ μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴριται.

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἵππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται·

him, but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

214 Such was the end of Spargapises Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her power and joined battle with him. This fight I judge to have been the stubbornest of all fights that were ever fought by men that were not Greek, and indeed I have learnt that this was so. For first (it is said) they shot at each other from a distance with arrows, presently, their arrows being all shot away, they rushed upon each other and fought at grips with their spears and their daggers, and for a long time they battled foot to foot and neither would give ground, but at last the Massagetae had the mastery. There perished the greater part of the Persian army, and there fell Cyrus himself, having reigned thirty years in all save one. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and sought for Cyrus' body among the Persian dead, when she found it, she put his head into the skin, and spoke these words of insult to the dead man "Though I live and conquer thee, thou hast undone me, overcoming my son by guile, but even as I threatened, so will I do, and give thee thy fill of blood." Many stories are related of Cyrus' death, this, that I have told, is the worthiest of credence.

215 These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen, and it is their custom to carry battle axes. They ever use gold and bronze,

οσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ πέρδις καὶ σαγάρις,
χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, οσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν
καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας. χρυσῷ κοσ-
μέονται. οἷς δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ
στέργα χαλκέους θύρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ
περὶ τοὺς χαλιγοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα
χρυσῷ. σιδηρῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄργυρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν.
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς
καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσιδε. γυναικα-
μὲν γαμέει ἔκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκουνα χρέωνται
τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ "Ελληνες ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι
εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Λασσαγέται". τῆς γὰρ
ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Λασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρε-
τρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται
ἀδεῶν. οὐρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἀλλος μὲν
οὐδείς. ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσ-
ήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσι μιν καὶ
ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα
κατευωχέονται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατα-
νενόμισται, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύ-
σιτέονται ἀλλὰ ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ
μενοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἴκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων
οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παρ-
γίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον
ἡλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. ιόος δὲ
οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων
τῶν θυητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use, for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216 Now, for their customs, each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom, it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death, when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow, their fare is their live stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship, to him they sacrifice horses, the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.

ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἔς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις,
χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν
καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσ-
μέονται. ὡς δ' αὗτας τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ
στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ
περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόματα καὶ φάλαρα
χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδὸς ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς
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ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρε-
τρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται
ἀδεῶς. οὐρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν
οὐδείς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ πρασ-
ήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσι μιν καὶ
ἄλλα πρόβατα ἀμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα
κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι
νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατα-
σιτέονται ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύ-
μενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο ἔς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ
οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ξώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων
οἱ δὲ ἀφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παρ-
γίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δὲ εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον
ἢ λιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. ιόν δὲ
οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων
τῶν θυητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

all their spear points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forelimbs with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and checkplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death, when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship, to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.

BOOK II

II

1. Τελευτησαιτος ἐξ Κίρου ταρέλασθε τὴν
Βασιληὴν Καρβίσης, Κύρου ἐών ταῖς καὶ Κασ-
σαι δάις ης τῆς Φαριάστεω θυγατρός, τῆς ἡροα-
θηι ούσης Κῦρος αὐτὸς τε μέγα τέιθος ἐ-οιήσα-
καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἥροεῖτε τὰς τῶν ἥρχε τειρο-
ποιέσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐών ταῖς καὶ
Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἰωιας μὲν καὶ Λιόλέας ὡς δον-
λους τατρωίους ἔοντας ἐιόμιζε, ἐντὸς δὲ Λίγυτον
ἐτοιέστο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν
τῶι ἥρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήιων τῶν ἐτεκρύσσε

2. Οἱ δὲ Λίγυττοι, τρὶν μὲν ἵ Ψαμμήτιχον
σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐιόμιζον ἀντοὺς τρώτους
γεγέσθαι τάι των ἀνθρώπων ἐτειδὴ δὲ Ψαμ-
μήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἡθέλησε εἰδέιαι οἵτις ει γειο-
ατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου ιομίζουσι Φρύγας
προτέρους γειέσθαι ἀντούν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
ἀντούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυν-
θανόμενος πόρον ούδει α τούτου ἀι ευρεῖν, οἱ γενοίατο
πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόν δε. ταιδία
δύο νεογυὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόιτων δίδωσι
ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ τοίμια τροφιγυ τια τοιήι δε,
ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίου αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωι ἡν
ιέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμη ἐπ' ἀντούν κέεσθαι αὐτα,
καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινειν σφι αἴγας, πλιήσαι τα
δὲ γάλακτος τᾶλλα διαπρῆσσεσθαι ταῦτα δε
ἐποιέε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ὑκοῦ-

BOOK II

1 AFTER the death of Cyrus Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandene daughter of Pharnaces, for whom, when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks over whom he held sway.

2 Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt,¹ the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth. But ever since he desired to learn, on becoming king, what nation was oldest, they have considered that, though they came before all other nations, the Phrygians are older still. Psammetichus, being nowise able to discover by inquiry what men had first come into being, devised a plan whereby he took two newborn children of common men and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave charge that none should speak any word in their hearing, they were to lie by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due season the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do all else needful. Psammetichus did this, and gave this charge, because he desired to hear what speech

¹ In 664 B.C. probably

HESIODUS

σαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων
 κρυζημάτων, ἥπτια φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τά
 περ ὡν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόιος ἐγε-
 γόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοιτι, ἀνοίγοντε
 τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιούτι τὰ ταινία ἀμφότερα
 τροσπίπτοντα βεκός ἔφωνεος, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖ-
 ρας. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ
 ποιμήιος ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελο-
 μένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὗτο δὴ σημιῆνας τῷ
 δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς δύιν
 τὴν ἑκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτεχος
 ἐπιυθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι,
 πυρθανόμενος δὲ εὑρίσκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν
 ἄρτον. οὗτο συνεχώρησαν Λίγυπτοι καὶ τοιούτῳ
 σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας τρεσβυ-
 τέρους εἶναι ἐωντῶν. ὡδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων
 τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἥκουνον· Ἐλληνες
 δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὡς γυναικῶν
 τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτεχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαιταν
 οὗτο ἐποιήσατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι
 τῇσι γυναιξί.

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων
 τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι
 ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἵρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ
 δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν
 τούτωι, εἰνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ
 συμβήση γυται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι-
 οι γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Λίγυπτίων εἶναι
 λογιώτατοι. τὰ μέν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων
 ολα ἥκουνον οὐκ εἴμι πρόθυμος ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔξω η
 τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας

BOOK II 2-3

would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the master to his master, and on command brought the children into the king's presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong, he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

ἀνθρώπους ἵσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἀν
ἐπιμνησθέω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἔξαναγκαζόμενος
ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

4. "Οσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήια πρήγματα, ὡδε ἐλεγον
ὅμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Λίγυπτίους ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀπάντων ἔξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα
μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὥρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ
ἔξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐλεγον· ἄγοντι δὲ τοσῷδε
σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἑλλῆνες
μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπειβάλλουσι τῶν
ὥρέων εἶνεκεν, Λίγυπτοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους
ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν
ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι δ
κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τώντὸ περιῶν παραγίεται.
δυώδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἐλεγον πρώτους Λί-
γυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ "Ἑλλῆνας παρὰ σφέων
ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς
θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι
ἔγγλυψαι. καὶ τούτων μέν νυν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ
ἔδηλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον
Λίγυπτον ἀνθρωπὸν ἐλεγον Μίνα· ἐπὶ τούτου,
πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Λίγυπτον εἶναι
ἔλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν
ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἔόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπτὰ ἡμέρεων ἔστι ἀνὰ τὸν
ποταμὸν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λεγειν περὶ τῆς χώρης·
δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἴδοντι δέ, ὅστις
γε σύνεστιν ἔχει, ὅτι Λίγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλῆνες

¹ There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are

hold that no man knows about the gods more than another, and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4 But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks, for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons may agree, but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods¹ (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them), and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by plain proof. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Theban² province was a marsh all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of the lake Moeris,³ which lake is seven days' journeys up the river from the sea.

5 And I think that their account of the country was true. For even though a man has not before been told it he can at once see, if he have sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land acquired twelve of the second rank. See ch. 43, and Hawlitz in *vol. viii. 3* in his Appendix to Book II.)

¹ The southern part of Upper Egypt.

² It is in the delta region, west of the Nile.

HERODOTUS

ναυτίλλοιςται, ἐστὶ Λίγυπτίοισε ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ
καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς
λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλάσου, τῆς
πέρι ἐκεῖνοι αὐδὲν ἔτι τοιότδε ἔλεγοι, ἐστὶ δὲ ἔτερον
τοιότδε. Λίγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης
τοιγίδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης
δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρηγηρίην
πηλόν τε ἀνοίστεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὁργυιῇσι ἔσεαι.
τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς
ἔοῦσαν.

6. Αὗτις δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Λίγύπτου μῆκος τὸ
παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔξηκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς
διαιρέομεν εἶναι Λίγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλιγθινῆτεω
κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ
Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ταύτης ὡν ἀπὸ οἱ ἔξηκοντα
σχοῖνοι εἰσὶ. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, ὁργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ
ἡσσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι,
παρασάγγησι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λέην, σχοῖνοισι.
δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ
σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἔὸν Λίγύπτιον, ἔξηκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὕτω ἀν εἴησαν Λίγύπτου στάδιοι ἔξα-
κόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐιθεῦ-
τεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἰλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν
ἐστὶ εὐρέπ Λίγυπτος, ἔοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτή τε
καὶ ἔνυδρος¹ καὶ ἰλύς. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου
πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἴόντι παραπλησίῃ τὸ
μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὅδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα
θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τε Πῦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διά-

¹ All MSS. have ἔνυδρος, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἔνυδρος or ἔνυδρος.

by the Egyptians, given them by the river—not only the lower country but even all the land to three days' voyage above the aforesaid lake, which is of the same nature as the other, though the priests added not this to what they said For this is the nature of the land of Egypt firstly, when you approach to it from the sea and are yet a day's run from land, if you then let down a sounding line you will bring up mud and find a depth of eleven fathoms This shows that the deposit from the land reaches thus far

6 Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni,"¹ that is of Egypt as we judge it to be, reaching from the Plinthisete gulf to the Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain, between these there is this length of sixty schoeni Men that have scanty land measure by fathoms, those that have more, by furlongs, those that have much land, by parasangs, and those who have great abundance of it, by schoeni The parasang is of thirty furlongs' length, and the schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is of sixty

7 By this reckoning then the seaboard of Egypt will be three thousand and six hundred furlongs in length Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy From the sea up to Heliopolis it is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa If a reckoning be made there will be seen to be but

¹ Literally "ropes."

Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὗτο[·] δή τι καὶ στεινὸς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων· μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα εἰρεσίη χρεωμένῳ εὑρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἥμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ρηχίη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἅμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἔτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἔσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἴθιοπίης, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχούς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ ὧν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τέ μιν κωλύει ρέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἄν· κοῦ γε, δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἦ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἄν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγογει αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἵδων τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἔχομένης γῆς κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι· καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμιον μοῦνον Αἴγυπτου ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὗτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην οὕτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ (τῇς γὰρ Ἀραβίῃς τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν

of which the length and narrowness is such as I shall show - for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide sea, and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein I hold that where now is Egypt there was once another such gulf, one entered from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I will speak, bore from the south towards Syria, the ends of these gulfs pierced into the country near to each other, and but a little space of land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand years? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this could not be silted up by a river so great and so busy?

12 Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded, for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and things are coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis, moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia

Σύροις νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγχαιόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένηρ, ὥστε ἔοῦσαν ἐλύτι τε καὶ πρόχνυσιν ἐξ Λίθιοπίης κατεγηγειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψημμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἔοῦσαν.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ώς ἐπὶ Μοιρίος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Λιγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Λέμφιον· καὶ Μοίρι οὐκω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκκαΐδεκα ἡ πεντεκαΐδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώρην. δοκέουσί τέ μοι Λιγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρη αὗτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῷ ἐς ὑψος καὶ τὸ δμοιον ἀποδιδῷ ἐς αὖξησιν,¹ μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἐλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γάρ ώς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἐλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἐπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ώς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῷ διαχράσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἐλληνες αἴρεθήσονται· οὐ γάρ δή σφι ἔστι ὕδατος οὐδεμίᾳ ἄλλῃ ἀποστροφῇ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

¹ Stein bracketa καὶ . . . αἴξησι.

is inhabited by Syrians), it is a kind of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands rather of clay and stones.

13 This too that the priests told me concerning Egypt is a strong proof, when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as eight cubits, it watered all Egypt below Memphis¹. Moeris was not yet nine hundred years dead when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river rise not at the least to sixteen or fifteen cubits, the land is not flooded. And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta—these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks, for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

¹ Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king more than 900 years before Hdt., 900 years being more likely a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.

14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς "Ελληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὄρθως ἔχοντα εἴρηται φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω· εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρη ἡ ἐνερθε Μέμφιος (αὗτη γὰρ ἔστι ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγου τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἡ οι ταύτη οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὑστεραί σφι ἡ χώρη μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἱ οὕτε ὑρότρῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακας ἔχουσι πόρους οὕτε σκάλλοντες οὕτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λήιου πουνέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεάν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρση τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ δύσιω, τότε σπείρας ἔκαστος τὴν ἔωστον ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὅς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῆσι ὅσι τὸ σπέρμα, ἀμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆσι ὅσι τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ ὁν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτον, οἱ φασὶ τὰ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Αἰγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχῆιων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσερίκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ᾧν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τε Πηλούσιον ρέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύομεν ἀν τούτῳ τῷ

14 And this saying of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show what is the case of the Egyptians themselves if (as I have already said) the country below Memphis—for it is this which rises—should increase in height in the same degree as formerly, will not the Egyptians who dwell in it go hungry, there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields? Now, indeed, there are no men, neither in the rest of Egypt, nor in the whole world, who grow from the soil with so little labour, they have not the toil of breaking up the land with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop, the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again, thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest, then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

15 Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, namely that nothing but the Delta is Egypt, whereof the seaboard reaches, according to them, from what is called the watchtower of Perseus, forty schoeni to the silting factories of Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cereisorus,¹ where the Nile divides and flows thence to Pelusium and Canobus (all the rest of Egypt being they say, partly Libya and partly Arabia) if

¹ At the southern point of the Delta where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.

λόγῳ χρειώμενοι Αἰγυπτίωσι οὐκ ἔυνσαν πρότερον χώρην. ἥδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμίᾳ ὑπῆρχε, τέ περιεργάζοντα δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἴεραι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἄμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἱεὶ τε εἰναι ἐξ οὐ μνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προϊούσῃς δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δὲ ὅν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτος ἐκαλέετο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὁν ἡμεῖς ὄρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, "Ιωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὅρθι ἐστι, ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, "Ἐλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἰωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οὐ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εύρωπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δή σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τούτου τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὄξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὡστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνοιτ' ἄν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἰγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομέ-

we follow this account, we can show that there was once no country for the Egyptians, for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to say) come into being. Then if there was once no country for them, it was but a useless thought that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they needed not to make that trial to see what language the children would first utter. I hold rather that the Egyptians did not come into being with the making of that which Ionians call the Delta they ever existed since men were first made, and as the land grew in extent many of them spread down over it, and many stayed behind. Be that as it may, the Theban province, a land of six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs in circuit, was of old called Egypt.

16 If then our judgment of this be right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt, but if their opinion be right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya, they must add to these yet a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belong neither to Asia nor to Libya, for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya, the Nile divides at the extreme angle of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya.

17 Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside, and our own judgment concerning the matter is this. Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by

εγρ κατά περ Κιλικίης τὴν ἕπο Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίης τὴν ἕπο Ἀσσυρίων, αὗταις δὲ Ἀσσύ καὶ Λιβύη εἰδαμεν οὐκέτε τὸν ὄρθρον λίγον εἰ μή τοις Αἴγυπτίων οὔρανε. εἰ δὲ τῷ ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων γερουσιαρέροι χρησόμενα, τοιοῦταν Αἴγυπτον πάσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδοίπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφατίνης πόλιος δίχα διπρίσσεται καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμιέων ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἴραι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσσίης. ὁ γάρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδοίπων ῥέει μίσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θύλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν γενν Κερκησώρου πόλιος ῥίει εἰς ἐών ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοίς, καὶ οὐ μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ τράπεται, τὸ καλέσται Πηλούσιον στόμα, οὐ δὲ ἐτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωθικὸν στόμα κέκληται. οὐ δὲ δὴ ιθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῷ ἐστὶ οὐδεὶς ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὅξον τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ απὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θύλασσαν ἔξει, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὔτε οἶκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλέσται Σεβεινυτικὸν στόμα. ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεινυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θύλασσαν τοῖσι οὐρόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαιτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδισιον, τὸ δὲ Βολβίτεινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ιθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὄρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γρώμης ὑστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος

Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally, and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine,¹ to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows to the sea. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards, the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea, in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate them selves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea by name the Sistic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are not natural but dug channels.

18 My opinion, that the extent of Egypt is such as my argument shows, is attested by the answer which (my judgment being already formed) I heard to have been given concerning Egypt by the oracle of Ammon. The men of the cities of Marea and

¹ On the island opposite Syene (Ass. 2.)

καὶ Ἀπιος, οἰκέοντες Αἴγυπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύη, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἴγυπτοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ίρά θρησκηίῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι οἰκέειν τε γάρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἔξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιέειν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπὶών ἄρδει, καὶ Αἴγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἐνερθεὶς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὗτω σφι ταῦτα ἔχρήσθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύῃ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῆ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὅδον, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὗτε τι τῶν ἵρέων οὕτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἐκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὅπιστα ἀπέρχεται ἀκολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀπαντα διατελέει ἐὼν μέχρι οὐ αὐτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων, ἴστορέων αὐτοὺς ἡντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἴστόρεον καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας ἀποπνεούσαι μοῦνος ποταμῷν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.

Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt· for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods But the god forbade them all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians Such was the oracle given to them

19 When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, in places as far as two days' journey from either bank, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less Concerning its nature, neither from the priests nor from any others could I learn anything Yet I was zealous to hear from them why it is that the Nile comes down with a rising flood for an hundred days from the summer solstice, and when this tale of days is complete sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter till the summer solstice again Concerning this matter none of the Egyptians could tell me anything, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers Of the matters aforesaid I wished to know, and asked, also why no airs blow from it as from every other stream¹

¹ Not from the river itself, perhaps, but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley

20. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὑδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὄδούς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὄδῶν οὐδὲ ἀξιώ μησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μοῦνον· τῶν ἡ ἔτερη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὔκων ἐπνευσταν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντὸν ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίησι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῷ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσούτῳ δισφῇ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιούτο πάσχουσι οἶόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21. Ἡ δὲ ἔτερη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἔστι τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη· οἱ λέγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὄκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὄδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲν αὗτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· διὸ ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἴθιόπων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ᾧ δῆτα ῥέοι ἀν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἔστε; ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οὕτω τε ἔοντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰκός ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν

20. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήτων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γερέσθαι σοφίην ἐδεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὄντος τούτου τριφασίας ὄδοντος τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὄδῶν οὐδὲν ὑξιῶ μητούνται εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆται βουλόμενος μοῦνον τῶν ἡ ἐτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμόν, καλύνοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον, πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκων ἐπιρευσταν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντὸν ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆγε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίησι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὅμοιώς πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῷ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτε τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἰόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21. Ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἔστι τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη· ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὁκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὄδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μᾶλιστα ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲν ἀντη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· διὸ ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιόπων, ἐκδιδοῦ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὧν δῆτα ῥέοι ἀν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἔστι; ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἴω τε ἔοντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀιεμοὶ παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν

20 But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river, of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds¹ are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

21 The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than that afore mentioned, though it is more marvellous to the ear by it, the river effects what it does because it flows from the Ocean, which flows round all the world.

22 The third opinion is the most plausible by far, yet is of all the most in error. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt, but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and issues out into Egypt, how then can it flow from snow, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are far the most part colder? Now, a man who can reason about such matters will find his chief proof, that there is no likelihood of the rivers flowing from snow in this—that the winds blowing from Libya and

¹ The regular N. W. wind is which blow in winter from the Mediterranean

HERODOTUS

χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομθρος
 ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐσύστα, ἐπὶ δὲ
 χιονι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἔστιν ὃσαι ἐν πέντε
 ἡμέρησι, ὥστε, εἰ ἔχεινται, ὕετο ἀν ταῦτα τὰ
 χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος
 μέλανες ἔοντες. ἵκτενοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος
 ἔοντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν
 χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοι-
 τῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ
 τοίνυν ἔχεινται καὶ ὅσον ὁν ταύτην τὴν χώρην δι'
 ἦς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν
 ἀν τούτων οὔδεν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν
 μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ
 ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἔοντα, "Ομηρον δὲ
 ἡ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω
 τὸ οὖνομα εὑρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προ-
 κειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέ-
 ἔξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὃ τι μοι δοκέει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ
 Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπε-
 λαυτόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ
 τῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὡς
 μέν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς
 γὰρ ἀν ἀγχοτάτῳ τε ὁ χώρης οὐτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ
 κατὰ ἡμιτιγα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψήν τε ὑδάτων
 μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι
 τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὡδε ἔχει.
 Διεξιῶν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιεῖ·
 ὅτε διὰ παιτὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἔοιτος τοῦ

Ethiopians are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost, but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days,¹ so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

23 The opinion about the Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof, for I know of no river of Ocean, and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry.

24 If, having condemned the opinions proposed, I must now set forth what I myself think about these obscure matters, I will show what I suppose to be the cause of the Nile being in flood in the summer. During the winter the sun is driven by the storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. Now to make the shortest conclusion, that is all that need be said, for to whatever country this god is nearest, or over it, it is to be thought that that land is the thirstiest and that the rivers in it are diminished.

25 But stated at greater length, the truth is as I shall show. In his passage over the inland parts of Libya—the air being ever clear in that region, the

¹ It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.

ιγέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεῖται τῆς χώρης ἴοντος καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξόντων ποιέει οἶνον πέρ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιέειν ἵων τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἐλκει γάρ ἐπ' ἔωυτὸν τὸ ὄδωρ, ἐλκύστας δὲ ἐπιωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄρω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄγρευοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τίκουσσε καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρης πινέοντες, ὅ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὄδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποκέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νεῖλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἔωυτοιν. πριγῦνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὄπίστω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἐλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέων δὲ οἵ μὲν ὁμβρίους ὑδάτος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἀτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὁμβρῶν ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου ἐλκόμενοι ἀσθενέες εἰσὶ. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἄνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου μοῦνος ποταμῶν τούτου τὸν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἔωυτον ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γάρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἵστον ἐλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μοῦνος πιέζεται.

26. Οὗτο τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον είνπι. αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἥέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἔωυτον· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄγω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἥλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέος τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν

land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is runed upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer, which is but natural, for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted

26 I am persuaded therefore that the sun is the cause of these matters The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by the sun, to my thinking, because he burns his passage through it, so it is that it is always summer in the inland part of Libya But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where now the north wind and winter are set, and the north wind was where the south wind is

ἔστηκε, ταῦτη δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ
ἡλιος ἀν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἦτε ἀν τὰ ἄνω
τῆς Εὐρώπης κατά περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται,
διεξιόντα δ' ἀν μν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἐλπομαὶ^{τοι}
ποιέειν ἀν τὸν Ἱστρον τά περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν
Νεῖλον.

27. Τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτε οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε
ἔχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χωρέων οὐκ
οἰκός ἔστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ
τενὸς φιλέει πνέειν.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστε τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν
ἐγένετο τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὗτε Αἴγυπτιων
οὗτε Λιβύων οὗτε Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων
ἔς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν
Αἴγυπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλι ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἵρων
χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παιζεῖν
ἔδοκε φάμενος εἰδέναι ὑτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὡδε,
εἶναι δύο ὅρεα ἐς δξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα,
μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος
καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὖνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὅρεοι
τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· τὰς δὲ δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ
Νείλου ἔούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὥρεων
τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ ὅδατος
ἐπ' Αἴγυπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον, τὸ
δ' ἔτερον ἥμισυ ἐπ' Λιθιοπίης τε καὶ νότου. ὡς δὲ
ἀβυσσοι εἰσὶ αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου
Ψαμμήτιχον Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολ-
λέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὄργυιέων πλεξάμενον
κάλον κατεῖναι ταῦτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν.
οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστὴς, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινό-
μενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ καταγοέειν, δίνας

now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile

27 And for the reason why no air blows from the river, this is my opinion it is not natural that any air blow from very hot places, airs ever come from that which is very cold

28 Be these matters, then, as they are and as they were made to be in the beginning But as to the sources of the Nile, none that conversed with me, neither Egyptian, nor Libyan, nor Greek, professed to know them, except only the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais He, I thought, jested with me when he said that he had exact knowledge, but this was his story — Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine there are two hills with sharp peaks, the one called Crophi and the other Mophi The springs of the Nile, which are unsathomed, rise between these hills, and half the water flows towards Egypt northwards, the other half southwards towards Ethiopia That this source cannot be fathomed, Psammetichus king of Egypt proved by experiment for he had a rope woven of many a thousand fathoms length and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom Thus, then if the recorder spake truth, he showed as I think, that here are

HERODOTUS

τινὰς ταύτη ἔούσας ἴσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οὐα
δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὅρεσι, μὴ
δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρηγρίην ἐς βυσσὸν
ἰέναι.

29. "Αλλού δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπιθό-
μην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης
ἔλθων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοή ἥδη ιστορέων. ἀπὸ
Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἵοντι ἀναυτεῖ ἐστὶ^{χωρίου} ταύτη ὡν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδῆσαντας
ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατά περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ
ἀπορραγγὴ τὸ πλοῖον οἰχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἴσχυος
τοῦ ρόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίου τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' οἵμερας
τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη κατά περ ὁ
Μαλανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυώδεκα εἰσὶ^{οὗτοι} τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ
ἔπειτα ἀπίξεαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νησον περ-
ιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος. Ταχομψὼ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστι.
οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἴθιοπες
τὸ δὲ οἵμερον Αἰγύπτιοι.
η μεγάλῃ, τὴν πέριξ
αι τὴν διεκπλῶσας
ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον οἵξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην
ταύτην ἔκδιδοι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν
ποταμὸν ὄδοιπορίην ποιήσεαι οἵμερέων τεσσερά-
κοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῷ οἱξέεις ἀν-
έχουσι· καὶ χοιράδες πολλαῖ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἰά τε
ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσεράκοντα
οἵμερησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὖτις ἐς ἔτερον πλοῖον
ἔσθιας δυώδεκα οἵμερας πλεύσεαι, καὶ ἔπει
ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὐ^{έστὶ Μερός}
δὲ αὗτῇ ἡ πόλις οὐπολις τ

strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding line when let down unable to reach the bottom

29 From no other man could I learn anything But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay — Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox, and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the current This part of the river is a four days journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander, a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Trichomphso Above Elephantine the country now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians, and half the people of the island are Ethiopians and half Egyptians Near to the island is a great lake, on the shores of which dwell nomad Ethiopians Having crossed this, you will come to the stream of the Nile, which issues into this lake Then you will disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days, for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you will take boat again and so travel for twelve days till you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia The

Λιθίοπων οἱ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διός υστον
υούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι,
καὶ σφι μαρτίου Διὸς κατέστηκε στρατεύονται
δὲ ἐπειρ σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ος κελεύη διὰ θεοτισμά-
των, καὶ τῇ ἀν κελεύῃ, ἔκειστε.

30. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς τόλμος τλέων ἐν ἴσῳ
χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἥξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ —ερ
ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἥλθεις ἐς τὴν μηρόπολιν τὴν
Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὔνομα
ἔστι Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἕτος κατὰ τὴν
Ἐλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ταρ-
ιστάμενοι βασιλέι. ἀτέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσε-
ρες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων
ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιόπας τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. ἔτι
Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν
τε Ἐλεφαντίη τόλι πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφ-
νησι τῆσι Πηλουσίησι ἄλλῃ τρὸς Ἀραβίων τε
καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρέῃ τρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ
ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ
φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἥσαν·
καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίη Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ
ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα
φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ
βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμει οι πάντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἥσαν ἐς Αἰθι-
οπίην. Ψαμμητίχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε ὡς δὲ
κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοὺς
πατρωίους ἀπολιτεῦν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναι-
κας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον

people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus¹, these they greatly honour, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus, they send out armies whenever and whithersoever this god by oracle commands them²

30 From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmich, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this —In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marei on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus, there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them, so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them, and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part,

current above Elephantine as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.

that wherever this should be they would have wives and children So they came to Ithiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country, who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ithiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land These Ithiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians

31 For as far as a distance of four months travel, then, by land and water, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt So many months, as reckoning shows lasts the journey from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters aforesaid The river flows from the west and the sun's setting Beyond this none has clear knowledge to declare, for all that country is desert, by reason of heat

32 But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians These are a Libyan people inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers It must be known

that all the northern seacoast of Libya—from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya—is inhabited through its whole length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians, the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts, and further inland than the wild beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men—When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain, when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun, crocodiles could be seen in it.

33 This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian, except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose

ἀπαιτας τὸν δὲ δὴ το-αμὸν τοῦτον -ὸν -αρρέοι τα καὶ Ἡ-έαρχος συιεβάλλετο εἴναι Νεῖλον καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὗτω αἱρέει ρέει γὰρ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσην -άμιωι Λιβύην, ἡ ὡς ἔγω συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφαίεστι -ὰ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρομένος, τῷ "Ιστρῳ ἐκ τοῖσι μέτρων ὄρμάται. "Ιστρος τε γὺρι τοταρι ἀρξάμειος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πολιος ρέμεσην σχίζωι -ὴν Σύρωτην οἱ δὲ Κελ-οὶ εἴναι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέωι, ὁμουρεούσι δε Κυνισίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι τρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν εἰ τῇ Εύρωτῃ κατοικημένωι -ελευ-ᾶ δε ο "Ιστρος εἰ θάλασσαν ρέων τὴν τοῦ Εὔξείνου τοντου διὰ τῆς Εύρώτης, τῇ "Ιστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσαί ποικοι

34 "Ο μὲν δὴ "Ιστρος, ρέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης τρὸς τολλῶι γιώσκεται, τερὶ δε τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλοι τηγέων οὐδεις ἔχει λεγειν ἀοίκη-ός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἔστι η Λιβύη δι' ἃς ρέει τερὶ δε τοῦ ρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐτ' ὅσου μακρότατον ιστορεῦι ταῦτα ἔξικέσθαι, εἴρηται ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτοι η δε Αἴγυπτος -ῆς ὀρειηῆς Κιλικίης μαλιστά κη ἀντίη κέεται ἐνθεῦ-εν δὲ ἐς Σινω-ην τῇ ἐν τῷ Εὔξείνῳ τόντῳ -εντε ἡμερέωι ιθέα ὁδος εὐζωι τὸνδρὶ η δε Σινω-η -ῶ "Ιστρῳ ἐκδιδοῖ τι ἐς θιέλασσαν ἀντίοι κέεται οὗτω τον Νεῖλοι δοκέω διαποσης -ῆς Λιβύης διεξιόι-α ἔξισοῦσθαι τῷ "Ιστρῳ

35 Νεῖλου μέν τυντερι τοσαῦτα είρησθω ἔρχομαι δὲ -ερὶ Αἴγυπτον μηκινέωι τὸν λόγον, διτι -λεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει η η ἄλλη τᾶσα χωρη καὶ

¹ ἐκ των τοντων μέτρων is an obscure expression. What it appears to mean is that as the Nile (according to him) 314.

country they came were all wizards, as to the river that ran past the city, Læstadius guessed it to be the Nile, and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country, and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister.¹ That river flows from the land of the Celtæ and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe, now the Celtæ dwell beyond the pillars of Hercules, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istræ, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

34 As it flows through inhabited country, its course is known to many, but none can speak of the source of the Nile, for Libya, through which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Concerning its course I have told all that I could learn by inquiry, and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia, whence it is a straight five days journey for an unburdened man to Sinope on the Euxine, and Sinope lies over against the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister.

35 It is sufficient to say thusmuch concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt I will now speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous things, nor in the whole world beside are there to flows first from W to E and then turns northward so the Danube flows first from W to E and then (as he says) from N to S, and so the rivers in a manner correspond one crosses Africa, the other Europe.

ἔργα λόγου μέχω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην
τούτων εἴτε πλέον περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Λίγυπτιοι ἀμα τῷ οὐραγῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἔοντι
έτεροιν καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἄλλοιν παρεχο-
μένῳ οἱ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλι-
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεα τε καὶ
τόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναικες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ
καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἶκους ἔοντες
ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄγω τὴν
κρόκην ὡθέοντες, Λίγυπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεα
οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ
γυναικες ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναικες
ὅρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείη χρέωνται
ἐν τοῖσι οἶκοισι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι
ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀγαγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀπο-
κρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρέον, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀνα-
φανδόν. ἵραται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσενος
θεοῦ οὔτε -θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πα-
σεων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδε-
μία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν
Αἴγυπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι
νόμος ἀμα κῆδει κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μα-
λισταὶ ίκνέεται, Λίγυπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους
ἀνιεῖσι τὰς τρίχας αὖξεσθαι τάς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέωρ ἔξυρημένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι
ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται,
Αἴγυπτίοισι δὲ ὅμοι θηρίοισι ἡ δίαιτα ἐστί. ἀπὸ
πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὄλλοι ζώουσι, Αἴγυπτίων δὲ
τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζόην ὄνειδος μέ-
γιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὄλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία,

be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness, therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

As the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to them selves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so have they made all their customs and laws of a kind contrary for the most part to those of all other men. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men abide at home and weave, and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Women make water standing, men sitting. They relieve nature indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, giving the reason, that things unseemly but necessary should be done in secret, things not unseemly should be done openly. No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess, men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.

36 Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long, in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven, Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live, they make food from a coarse grain which some call

τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῆσι χερσί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὥλλοι μὲν ἔωσι ὡς ἐγένοντα, πλὴν ὅσος ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἶματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ. τῶν ἴστιών τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι "Ελληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, "Ελληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἵρα τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῷς ἔοντες μᾶλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμαισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκέων ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμῶντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ δὲ μὲν δ δ' οὖ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἶματα δὲ λινεαὶ φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπὶ τηδεύοντες τοῦτο μᾶλιστα, τά τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρειότητος εἴνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μῆτε φθεὶρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσταρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύθιλα· ἄλλην δέ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δὶς ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκηίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὗτε τις γάρ

spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of seals are made first elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right, the Egyptians do contrariwise, yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek *ways* towards the left. They use two kinds of writing, one is called sacred, the other common.¹

37 They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation, and these are among their customs — They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily, this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake, for they set cleanliness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus²; they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits; they neither consume nor spend aught of

¹ Three kinds really hieroglyphic hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay ch 5, in his Appendix to Book II.

² On this plant, see ch 92.

τῶν οἰκηίων τρίχονται οὔτε δα-αιῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἔστι ἵρδ -εσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ λῃστῶν -λῆθος, -ι ἔκαστην γά εται -ολλὸι ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίζοται δέ σφι καὶ οὐκος ἀμ-έ λιος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστε -άσασθατ. λυάμουν δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σ-ε' ρουσι Λιγύντιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τούς τε γυμνέους οὔτε τρόγονται οὔτε ἔψοιτες πατίονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἵρεες οὐδὲ ὄρέοντες ἀιέχονται, ιομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἴη αἱ μιν ὅστριοι. ἵραται δι οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ τολλοί, τῷρ εἰς ἔστι ἀρχιερεύς· ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀτοθάνη, τούτου ὁ -αῖς ἀι τικατίσταται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσειας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἴπεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὥδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μέαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι ιόμιζει. δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμέοις τῶν τις ἵρέων καὶ ὄρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἔξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἔγω ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἔρέω· κατορᾶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἰδίσσων καὶ ἐπειτα γῆν σημαιτρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἡ ζημίη ἐπικέεται δοκιμάζεται μέν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσίη δέ σφι ἥδε κατέστηκε

39. Ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἀν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἰνον κατὰ τοῦ ἵρησον ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφά-

their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beeves and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country, if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked, the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest, and when a high priest dies his son succeeds to his office.

38 They hold that bulls belong to Epaphus,¹ and therefore test them thus to see if there be as much as one black hair on them, if there be, the bull is deemed not pure, one of the priests, appointed to this task, examines the beast, making it to stand and to lie, and drawing out its tongue, to know whether it bear none of the stated signs which I shall declare hereafter.² He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it be pure in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus round the horns, then smears it with sealing earth and stamps it with his ring, and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of proving the beast, I will now show how it is sacrificed.

39 Having brought the marked beast to the altar where the sacrifice is to be, they kindle a fire, then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god, then they cut its throat, and

¹ Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi the bull god of Memphis, for bulls of Mairas *Oppian* (L C L) Cyn II 86, note ² iii 28

ξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτίου εος δείρουσι, κεφαλῆ δὲ κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμει οι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ "Ελληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμοι ἐμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι "Ελληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῆσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Λίγυπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἶνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὅμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἵρα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δὴ ἔξαίρεσις τῶν ἵρων καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἵρον σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγιστην τε δαίμονα ἴγγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὄρτην ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . .² ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξύμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἔξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὕμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦ πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· πρηνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἵρων

² There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.

having so done they sever the head from the body. They flay the carcase of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold, where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices, and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40 But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I will now, however, speak of that goddess whom they deem the greatest, and in whose honour they keep highest festival. The ox being slain, after prayer made as aforesaid they take out the whole stomach, leaving the entrails in the carcase and the fat, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcase of the ox with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring much oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning they all make lamentation, and when their

ξαιτες δὲ ἀποτάμιουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτῆι εος δείρουσι, κεφαλῆ δὲ κείη πολλὰ καταρησάμει οι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἦν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ "Ελληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδίμοι ἐμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροι τες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοι το, τοῖσι δὲ ὅν μὴ παρέωσι "Ελληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῆσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Λίγυπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γεγέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλῆν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μέν τυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες Λίγυπτοι τόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἵρα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδεὶς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἵρων καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἵρον σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγιστην τε δαίμονα ἥγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὄρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . .¹ ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξύμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὄμοις τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοὸς πιμπλᾶσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἵρων

¹ There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.

having so done they sever the head from the body. They fly the curse of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices, and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40 But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I will now, however, speak of that goddess whom they deem the greatest, and in whose honour they keep highest festival. The ox being flayed, after prayer made as aforesaid they take out the whole stomach, leaving the entrails in the carcase and the fat, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcase of the ox with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring much oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning they all make lamentation; and when their

HERODOTUS

τύπτονται πάντες, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δῶτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἵρων.

41. Τοὺς μέν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἵραι εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰσιος· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἄγαλμα ἦν γυνιατκήιον βούκερων ἐστὶ κατά περ Ἐλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὅμοιώς σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ τῶν εἴνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἐλληνα φιλήσειε ἀν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρη ἀνδρὸς Ἐλληνος χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἐλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἔκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἔτερον ἡ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα σημηῖον εἴνεκεν ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῆ καὶ προσίη ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἔκαστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλευμένης υῆσου. ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, τερίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἑννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὧν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι υῆσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλιες συχναῖ, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὄστρα τῶν βοῶν, οὗνομα τῇ τόλι· Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἄγιον ἴδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας τόλις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ ὄστρα ἀτάγουσι καὶ θάττουσι ἐς ἕνα χῶρον τάντες. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τοῖσι βουσὶ καὶ τάλλα κτήματα θάττουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ

lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim

41 All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and bull calves, they may not sacrifice cows, these are sacred to *Isis*. For the images of *Isis* are in woman's form, horned like an ox, as the Greeks picture Io, and cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of the herd by all Egyptians alike. For this reason no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or use a knife, or a spit, or a caldron belonging to a Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished ox that has been cut up with a Greek knife. Oxen that die are dealt with in the following way — Cows are cast into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its suburbs, with one or both horns uncovered for a sign; then, when the carcase is decomposed, and the time appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from the island called *Prosopitis*, an island in the Delta, of nine schoeni in circuit. There are many other towns in *Prosopitis*, that one from which come the boats to gather the bones of the bulls is called *Atarbechis*,¹ there stands in it a temple of Aphrodite of great sanctity. From this town many go about, some to one town and some to another, and dig up the bones, which they then carry away and all bury in one place. As they bury the oxen, so they do with all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance.

¹ No doubt from *Atil* or *Attal* or, under whose name *Isis* was often worshipped.

ταῦτα οὕτω σφι γενομοθέτηται κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

42. "Οσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίεος ἔδρυνται ἵρον ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μέρη γυν πάντες οἵων ἀπεχόμενοι αἴγας θύουσι. Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντεῖς ὄμοιῶς Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόρυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὄμοιῶς ἀπαντεῖς σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἵρον ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι δις θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μέν γυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἴων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τέλος δέ, ἐπείτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τάδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπράσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔοντες Αἰγυπτιῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων ἀποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζουστες· δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἵροι διὰ τοῦτο. μιῇ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἔνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τῶντὸν ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἐπειτα ἄλλο

respecting these also, for they, too, may not be killed

42 All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus, these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes¹ or are of the Mendesian province sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep give the following reason for their ordinance. Heracles - (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head, and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too, for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story, then

¹ Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram according to monuments. Hero Mendes apparently = Osiris.

* The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu Neferhotep, Αγαθοδαλμων)

HERODOTUS

ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτουται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἵρῃ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἡκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν "Ελλῆνες αἰδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ "Ἐλλῆνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Διοφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τούνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεῖς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὗτε Ποσειδέωνος οὗτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον οὔνομά τεν δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίησι ἔχρεώντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἐλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὡς ἔλπομαι τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέειν ὥστε τούτων ἀν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἔξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἔστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλέης. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτει ἔστι ἔπτακισχίδια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἔπειτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἔνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφέσ τι εἰδέναι εἰς ὧν οἱόν τε ἦν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς

they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But I could nowhere in Egypt hear anything concerning the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed many proofs that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon); and this is the chief among them—that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both by descent Egyptian,¹ and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

44. Moreover, wishing to get clear knowledge of this matter whence it was possible so to do, I took

¹ As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.

HERODOTUS

Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἵρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἄγιον, καὶ εἰδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοισι τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἡσαν στῆλαι δύο, ή μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, η δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἵρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὀκόσας χρόνος εἴη ἔξι οὖ σφι τὸ ἵρὸν ἰδρυται. εὑρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι "Ελλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἄμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένη καὶ τὸ ἵρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀπ' οὐ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἰδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἵρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὑρον ἵρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένου, οὐ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες. Θάσον ἔκτισαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἔστι η τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μέν νυν ἴστορημένα δηλοὶ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔοντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οὐ διξά Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὄλυμπιῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς Ἡρῷ ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἑλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἔστι τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἴγυπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἔξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διὶ· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

¹ The Tyrian god Melkart.

ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles¹ There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night time, and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks, for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years since At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe, now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god And further those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero²

45 But among the many ill considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus, and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began

¹ There is a dual Heracles in the *Odysssey* xi 601 seqq An elder of him is seen in the world of the dead, but he himself is an immortal among the gods of Heaven.

καταρχοίτο, ἐς ἀλκηὶ τριπόμενοι πάντας σφέας
καταφοιεῖσαι ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ δοκέοντο τοῦτα λε-
γούτες τῆς Λέγυνοι φίσιος καὶ τῶν ιόμων
ταραν πειρωτές ἔχει οἱ "Ι λλητες αἰστοί γαρ
οὐδὲ κτηματα ὁσήν θυει ἔστι χωρὶς ὑῶι καὶ ἐρσέτων
θωῶι καὶ μόσχωι, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ
χηιῶι, λῶι ἢ οὗτοι οἱ θρώνους θυοιει, ἕτι δὲ
ἕι πεντα τοι "Ιπρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωποι, ὡς δὴ
φασι, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι
καὶ περὶ μει τουτῷ τοσαῦτα ημῖν εἰ-οῦσι καὶ
ταρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ταρὰ τῶι ἡρώων εὑμειείη εἴη

46 Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε
εἶνεκα οὐ θυουσι Λίγυττίων οἱ εἰρημένοι τοι
Πᾶνα τῶν οκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδή-
σιοι, τους δὲ ὀκτὼ θεους τούτους προτέρους τῷ
δυωδεκά θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι γράφουσί τε δὴ
καὶ γλυφουσι οι ξωγράφοι καὶ οι ἀγαλματοποιοι
τοῦ Πανος τάγαλμα κατά πέρ "Ελληνες αἰγοπρά-
σωτον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὕτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες
εἶναι μιν αλλα ομοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ὅτεν
δε εἶνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὐ μοι ἥδιον
ἔστι λεγειν σεβονται δε πάντας τους αἰγας οι
Μενδησιοι καὶ μᾶλλον τους ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων
καὶ τουτων οι αἴπολοι τιμᾶς μεζονας ἔχουσι εκ δε
τουτων ἔνα μάλιστα, ὅστις επειν ἀποθανη, πενθος
μεγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησιῳ νομῷ τιθεται καλέεται
δε ὃ τε τραγος καὶ ο Παν Λιγυπτιστὶ Μενδης
εγενετο δε εν τῷ νομῷ τουτῳ επ' εμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ
τερας γυναικὶ τραγος εμσγετο ἀναφανδον τοῦτο
ες ἐπιδεξιν ἄνθρωπων απικετο

47 "Τν δὲ Αιγυπτιοι μιαρὸν ἥγησται θηρίον
εἰαι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν τις ψαυση αὐτῶν παριων

the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians, for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and still but a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter, may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

46 This is the reason why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods, who, they say, were before the twelve gods. Now in their painting and sculpture the image of Pan is made as among the Greeks with the head and the legs of a goat, not that he is deemed to be in truth such, or unlike to other gods, but why they so present him I have no wish to say. The Mendesians hold all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in especial honour one he goat is most sacred of all, when he dies it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian province. In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a monstrous thing happened in this province, a woman having open intercourse with a he goat. This came to be publicly known.

47 Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in

νός, αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἴματίοισι ἀπ' ὃν ἔβαψε ἐωυτὸν
 βὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἔοντες
 Λίγυπτιοι ἐγγενέες ἐς ἵρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
 ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι
 οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἔθέλει οὐδὲ ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν,
 ἀλλ', ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ
 ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὃς
 οὐ δικαιεῦσι Λίγυπτιοι, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ
 μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ,
 τοὺς ὃς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι
 δὲ τοὺς ὃς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὄρτῃσι ἀπεστυγί-
 κασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ
 αὐτοῦ ὅπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπι-
 σταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἔστι λέγεσθαι. θυσίη
 δὲ ἦδε τῶν ὃν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέεται· ἐπεὰν
 θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν
 ἐπίπλοον συνθεὶς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὃν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ
 τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν ηδὺν γινομένῃ,
 καὶ ἐπειτα καταγίζει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα
 σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἀν τὰ ἵρᾳ
 θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἀν ἔτι γευσαίτο.
 οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὅπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας
 πλάσαντες ὃς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῇσι ὄρτῃς τῇ δορπίῃ χοῖρον
 πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἔκαστος διδοῖ ἀπο-
 φέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν
 συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὄρτην τῷ
 Διονύσῳ οἱ Λίγυπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα
 σχεδὸν πάντα "Ελλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα
 σφι ἔστι ἔξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα
 ιευρόσπεστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυ-
 γιαῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἔλασσον

passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is ; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple ; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women ; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus ; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon ; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others ; I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon : the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire ; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim ; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances ; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the

ἐδί τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἐποντας ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ μέζου τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κιρέει μούνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος.

49. "Ηδη ὡς δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἴραι ἀδαής ἀλλ' ἐμπειρος. "Ελλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἔστι ὁ ἔξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὖνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼι τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἔξέφηναν τὸν δ' ὃν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἔστι ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι "Ελληνες. ἐγὼ μέν νυν φῆμι Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικὴν τε ἑωυτῷ συστῆσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι "Ελλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, δλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φῆσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλησι ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἀν ἦν τοῖσι "Ελλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φῆσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἐλλήνων ἐλαθον ἢ τούτο οὐδὲν τούτο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέοσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικόμενων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὖνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἔον· δοκέω δ' ὃν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-

body, a flute player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets

49 Now, this being so, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant but had attained knowledge of this sacrifice For it was Melampus who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus, and the way of sacrificing to him, and the phallic procession , I would not in strictness say that he showed them completely the whole matter, for the later teachers added somewhat to his showing, but it was from him that the Greeks learnt to bear the phallus along in honour of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching I think, then, that Melampus showed himself a clever man, in that he had acquired the prophetic art, and in his teaching of the worship of Dionysus, besides much else, came from Egypt with but slight change , for I will not admit that it is a chance agreement between the Egyptian ritual of Dionysus and the Greek , for were that so, the Greek ritual would be of a Greek nature and not but lately introduced Nor yet will I hold that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks But I believe that Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenicia to the land now called Boeotia

50 Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, as I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt I recollect the names of Poseidon and the Demiur, as I have

κοίρων, ἀλλὰ τις ἵερας μηδεπέτα εἰργάσαι καὶ
Ἴηρης καὶ Ἰανέης, καὶ Ήμέων καὶ Λαρήνων καὶ
Νηριάδων, τῶν πᾶντων θεῶν Λίγυτοιςι αἰεὶ κοτε
τὰ αἰεὶ ὄμιτα ἔστε ἐν τῇ χαρῇ. Λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγονται
αἴτοι Λίγυτοις. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γιώτκειν
τὰ αἰεὶ ὄμιτα, οἵτοι δέ μοι ἔσχεσι στίθεντες
γῶν διομασθῆναι. —λὴν Ποσειδέωνος τούτον δὲ
τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λίβυσιν ἐ-ἔθοιτο οἱ δαμοὶ γὰρ
ἄττας ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οἰκουμα ἔειηται εἰ μη
Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεόν τούτον αἰεὶ. γομί^{ζουσι} δ' ὡν Λίγυτοις οἰδέντες οἰδέντες.

51. Ταῦτα μὲν ινι καὶ ᾱλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ
ἔγω φράσω, "Ἐλλῆνες ἄττας Λίγυτοιςι εἰομίκαστι
τοῦ δὲ Ἐρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄρθα ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα
τοιεῦντες οὐκ ἄττας Λίγυτοιςι μεμαθήκαστι, ἀλλὰ
ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν τρῶτοι μὲν Ἐλλῆνισιν ἄτάντων
Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι
Ἀθηναῖοιςι γὰρ ἥδη τηικαῦτα ἐσ "Ἐλλῆνας τε
λέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἔγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ,
ὅθεν περ καὶ "Ἐλλῆνες ἥρξαντο οιμασθῆναι δοτίς
δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὅργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες
ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτοι
ώνηρ ολδε τὸ λέγω τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηϊκῆν οἰκεον
πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἵ περ Ἀθηναῖοισι
σύνοικοι ἔγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες
τὰ ὅργια παραλαμβάνουσι ὄρθα ὧν ἔχειν τὰ
αἰδοῖα τάγαλματα τοῦ Ἐρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι
Ἐλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο
οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἴρον τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν,
τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηϊκῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται

52. "Εθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ^{θεοῖσι} ἐπευχόμενοι, ώς ἔγω ἐν Δωδώνῃ οίδα ἀκού

already said, and Hera, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt the knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.

51. These customs then and others besides, which I shall show, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes, the making of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first of all Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell in the land with them, and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learnt from the Pelasgians and now practice, he understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and this they did because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothraeian mysteries.

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at

κουρωι, ως καὶ τρότεροί μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ "Ηρῆς καὶ Ἰστιης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ λαριτῶν καὶ Νηρηΐδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἱεῖ κοτε τα οὐνοματα ἔστι ἐι τῇ χωρῃ λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τῷ δε οὐ φασι θεῶν γινωσκειν τὰ οὖνοματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκεουσι ὑπὸ Πελασ γῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος τοῦτον δε τον θεον παρὰ Λιβυων ἐπιθοντο οὔδαμοι γαρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὔνομα ἔκτηνται ει μη Λιβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεον τοῦτον αἱεῖ νομι ξουσι δ ὡν Αἰγυπτιοι οὐδὲ ἥρωσι ουδεν

51 Ταῦτα μεν νυν καὶ ἄλλα προς τούτοισι, τα εγω φρασω, Σλληνες απ' Αἰγυπτιων νενομικασι τοῦ δε Ερμεω τὰ ἀγαλματα ορθα ἔχειν τὰ αιδοῖα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αιγυπτιων μεμαθηκασι, αλλ ἀπο Πελασγῶν πρώτοι μεν Ἐλληνων ἅπαντων 'Αθηναιοι παραλαβοντες, παρα δε τουτων ὄλλοι 'Αθηναιοισι γαρ ἥδη τηνικαῦτα εις Ελληνας τε λεουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι εγενοντο ἐν τῇ χωρῃ δθεν περ καὶ Ελληνες ἥρξαντο νομισθῆναι ὅστις δε τὰ Καβειρων ὅργια μεμυηται, τὰ Σαμοθρηικες επιτελεουσι παραλαβοντες παρα Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ωνηρ οἰδε το λεγω την γὰρ Σαμοθρηικην οἴκεον προτερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οι περ 'Αθηναιοισι συνοικοι ἐγενοντο και παρα τουτων Σαμοθρηικες τα ὅργια παραλαμβανουσι ορθα ὡν ἔχειν τα αιδοῖα ταγαλματα τοῦ Ερμεω Αθηναιοι πρώτοι 'Ελληνων μαθοντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν εποιησαντο οι δε Πελασγοὶ ιρον τινα λογου περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν τὰ ειν τοῖσι ειν Σαμοθρηικη μυστηριοισι δεδηλωται

52 "Σθυον δε παντα προτερον οι Πελασγοι θεοῖσι ἐπευχομενοι, ως ἐγω ειν Δωδωνη οίδα ακου

already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt the knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.

51. These customs then and others besides, which I shall show, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the making of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first of all Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell in the land with them, and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learnt from the Pelasgians and now practice, he understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and this they did because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries.

52. In most, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at

σας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδὲ οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γάρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνύμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, δῆτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομᾶς εἶχον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθουντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθουντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἔχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν "Ελλησι" χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἡνὶ τὸν χρόνον τούτον μοῦνον. ἔπει τὸν ἔχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα, ἀνεῖδε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυσον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν "Ελληνες ἔξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

53. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἔκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἱὲς ἡσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοι τε τινὲς τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἡπιστέατο μέχρι οὐ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ "Ομηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι" οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην "Ελλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναυτες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἵρεῖαι λέγουσαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδον τε καὶ "Ομηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν "Ελλησι" καὶ

Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any ; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods¹ because all things and the due assignment thereof were by them set in order. Then, after a long while, they learnt the names first of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus ; and presently they inquired of the oracle at Dodona concerning the names ; for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas, and at that time it was the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices ; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

53. But whence each of the gods came into being, or whether they had all for ever existed, and what outward forms they had, the Greeks knew not till (so to say) a very little while ago ; for I suppose that the time of Hesiod and Homer was not more than four hundred years before my own ; and these are they who taught the Greeks of the descent of the gods, and gave to all their several names, and honours, and arts, and declared their outward forms. But those poets who are said to be older than Hesiod and Homer were, to my thinking, of later birth. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell ; the later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say.

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

¹ On the supposition that θεός meant "a disposer," connected with θεαμός, τιθημι, etc.

τοῦ ἐς Λιβύη τόνδε Αἰγυπτίοις λόγοι λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρεῖς τοῦ Θηβαϊέος Διὸς δύο γυναικας ἵρειας ἐκ Θηβέων ἔξαχθῆσαι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας" ταῦτας δὲ τὰς γυναικας εἶναι τὰς ἴδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντίja πρώτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. εἴρομένου δέ μεν ὁκόθεν οὕτω ὑπρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτεων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοί γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον.

55. Ταῦτα μέν γυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἥκουνον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ιζομένην δέ μεν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηίῃ ὡς χρεὸν εἴη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι "Αμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν" ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διός. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὖνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρη, ἔλεγον ταῦτα συνωμολόγεον δέ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γυνώμην τὴνδε· εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἔξηγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναικας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν "Ελλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέει ἐμοί η γυνὴ αὗτη τῆς

that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians, one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libya, and the other in Hellas, these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was now told to me.

55 That, then, I heard from the Theban priests, and what follows, is told by the prophetesses of Dodona to wit, that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona, this last settled on an oak tree, and uttered there human speech, declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus, the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libya bade the Libyans (so they say) to make an oracle of Ammon, this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the tale told by the Dodonaean priestesses, of whom the eldest was Promeneia and the next in age Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra, and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona likewise held it true.

56 But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but

HERODOTUS

νῦν Ἐλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτούς, ἐπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῶν πεφυκυίη ἵρὸν Διός, ὡσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἵρὸν Διός, ἐνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μυῆμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἐλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δέ οἱ ἀδελφεῖν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναικες, διότι βάρβαροι ἡσαν, ἐδόκεον δέ σφι ὁμοίως ὅρνισι φθέγγεσθαι μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίη φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ηὗδα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὅρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπει τέῳ ἀν τρόπῳ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπηίη φωνῇ φθέγξατο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγουτες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἴγυπτίη ἡ γυνή ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηίη ἡ τε ἐν Θήβῃσι τῆσι Αἴγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλιδῆσι τυγχάνουσι ἔοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου ἀπειγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀιθρώπων Αἴγυπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων "Ἐλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόον ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἐλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἴγυπτιοι οὐκ ἀπαξ τοῦ

was formerly called Pelisgir, where this last was sold, was Thesprotia, and presently, being there in slavery, she established a shrine of Zeus under an oak that was growing there, for it was reasonable that as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes she should remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this she taught divination, as soon as she understood the Greek language, and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

57 I suppose that these women were called "doves" by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds, presently the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech, as long as she spoke in her foreign language, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian.¹

58 The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and Dodona are like to one another, moreover the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt. It would seem too that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services, the Greeks learnt all this from them. I hold this proved because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very ancient, and the Greek are of late origin.

59 The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

¹ Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.

ἐνιαυτοῦ, παρηγύρις δὲ συχράς, μάλεστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούθαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βουσίριν πόλιν τῇ Ἰσι^τ ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλι ἔστι μέγιστον Ἰσιος ἵρον, ἕσρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὗτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐτοπίσθη τῷ Δέλτᾳ· Ἰσις δὲ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν Δημήτηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίγη παρηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἰλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοῖ, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεῖ.

60. Ἐς μέν τυν Βούθαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἄμα ἄνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλὸν τι πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ βάρι^τ αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζονται, οἵ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναικες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατά τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίμψαντες τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τὰ περ εἴρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βωῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλι ταύτη γυναικας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιεῦσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούθαστιν, ὄρταζονται μεγάλαις ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὄρτῃ ταύτῃ ἡ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δέ, ὃ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἔστι πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγονται τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὄρτην, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην

once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis¹ in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene, the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Paeremis.

60 When the people are on their way to Bubastis they go by river, men and women together, a great number of each in every boat. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they journey by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank, then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town, others dance, and others stand up and expose their persons. This they do whenever they come beside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year beside. Men and women (but not children) are wont to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

61 Such is their practice there, I have already told how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women

¹ Bubastis in the Delta the "city of Pasht," where the cat headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.

πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι· τὸι δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι δοσιον ἔστι λέγειν. δοσιον δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Λίγυπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτε πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων δοσι καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησ, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Λίγυπτιοι.

62. Ἐε Σάιν δὲ πόλειν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ γυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἔστι ἐμβάφια ἐμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐτεπολῆς δὲ ἐπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὄρτῃ οὐγορα κέεται λυχνοκαΐη. οἱ δ' ἀν μὴ ἐλθωσι τῶν Λίγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταῦτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν γυκτὰ τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡιὰ πᾶσαν Λίγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἴνεκα φῶς ἔλασχε καὶ τιμὴν ή νὺξ αὔτη, ἔστι ἴρδος περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμειος.

63. Ἐε δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλειν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἴρᾳ κατά περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι· εὗτ' ἀν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ιῆλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἵρέων περὶ τῶγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἔστάσι τοῦ ἴροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἄνδρῶν, ἔκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὕτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἀλέεις ἔστάσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἴκημα ἴρον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῶγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἀμαξαν ἄγουσταν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔώσι

lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

62 When they assemble at Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they all keep lamps burning in the open air round about their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil, the wick floating thereon, and burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this assembly are careful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are bright not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is thus lit up and honoured.

63 When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere, but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands, they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket, the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its

ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες ἔστιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ἔνδοισι καρτερὴ γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνῆσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ τούτῳ τοῦ "Ἀρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν" Αρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἔξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἷα οὐκ ὅπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν πάριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τούς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ "Αρεὶ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὄρτῃ νενομικέναι φασί.

64. Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἴροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἵρα ἔστιέναι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἴροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατά περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὄρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεας ὄχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι υηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεστι εἴ ὁν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλου, οὐκ ἀν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὗτοι μέν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἵρα καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Εοῦσα ἡ Αἰγυπτίος ὅμοιος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ

entrance, the votaries take the part of the god, and smite the priests, who resist. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus — The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple, Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother, but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival in honour of Ares¹.

64 Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal, for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts, now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part mislike, but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceeding strict against desecration of their temples.

65 Though Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is

¹ It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anubis, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."

μάλα θηριώδης ἔστι· τὰ δὲ ἔόντα σφι ἀπανταὶρὰ νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὖ. τῶν δὲ εἰνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἵρᾳ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἀν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενος εἰπον. νόμος δὲ ἔστι περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὃδε ἔχων μελεδωνοί ἀποδέδεχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἑκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἑκαστοῖς εὐγάς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀν ἡ τὸ θηρίου, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἡ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἴστασι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἀν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδῶνῳ τῶν θηρίων δίδοι, ή δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθὺς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοισι, τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἀν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἦν μὲν ἐκών, θάνατος ἡ ζημίη, ἦν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἀν οἱ ιρέες τάξανται. ὃς δ' ἀν οἴβιν ἡ ἱρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἦν τε ἐκών ἦν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

Οἱ πολλῶν δὲ ἔόντων ὄμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἀν ἔτε πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε· ἐπεὰν τεκωσι αἱ θήλεαι, οὐκέτε φοετέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσειας· οἱ δὲ διξήμειοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῆσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. τρὸς ὁν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀράζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑταιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκια κτείνονται, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ τατέονται· αἱ

not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred, some of these are part of mens' households and some not, but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat, I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally, a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver, then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it, cuts them up and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death, if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66 There are many household animals, and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males, and these seek them but cannot get their will of them, so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers

δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεικρέοιται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσεας φιλότεκνοι γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαιῆς δὲ γενομέτης θεῖα πρίγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰέλουροις οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λιγύπτιοι διαστάγτες φυλακὰς ἔχοντες τῶν αἰέλουρων, ὑμελήσαντες σφερρύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀγθρώπους ἐσάλλογται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γιγόμενα πέρθεσ μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὅτεοισι δ' ἀν οἰκοιοῖσι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὁφρύας μούνας, παρότεοισι δ' ἀν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἵρας στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι· τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἔκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῆσι θήκησι. ὡς δὲ αὗτως τῆσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἵρηκας ἀπάγονται ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἵβις ἐς Ἐρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἔούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἔοντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἀν εύρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἔστι τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἔσθίει οὐδέν, ἐδὺν δὲ τετράπονυ χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἔστι. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ φὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ θερμότερον γὰρ δή ἔστι τὸ ὄδωρ τῆς τε αἴθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θυητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστου γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγου

deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

-67. Dead cats are taken away into sacred buildings, where they are embalmed and buried, in the town of Bubastis; bitches are buried in sacred coffins by the townsmen, in their several towns; and the like is done with ichneumons. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are but few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying.

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering

ἀλλὰ χάμψαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἰωνες ὠνόμασαν,
εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινο-
μένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασι ἦσι.

70. Ἀγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστᾶσι καὶ
παντοῖαι· ή δ' ὡν ἔμοιγε δοκέει ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγή-
σιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον ὕδος δε-
λεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετιεῖ ἐς μέσον τὸν πόταμόν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλ-
φακα ζωὴν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς
φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν,
ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι.
ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ
θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὡν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς
δόφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὔπετέως τὰ
λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμοι νομῷ μὲν τῷ
Πατρημίτῃ ἴροι εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι
οὐκ ἴροι. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε·
τετράπουν ἔστι, δίχηλον, ὅπλαί βοός, σιμόν,
λοφιὴν ᔹχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῦνον, οὐρὴν
ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος δόσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέ-
γιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δή τι παχύ ἔστι
ὅστε αἷνου γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια
ἔξι αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς
ἴρας ἱγηνται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων
τὸν καλεύμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἴρον εἶναι καὶ τὴν
ἔγχελυν, ἴρον δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι,
καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἴρος, τῷ οὖν ομα-
φοῖς ξ. ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἴδον εἰ μὴ δόσον γραφῆ·
καὶ γὰρ δή καὶ στάντιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων,

The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls¹

70 There are many and various ways of crocodile hunting, I will write only of that one way which I think most worthy of mention —The hunter buits a hook with a chine of pork, and lets it float into the midst of the river, he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats Hearing the cries of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the chine, which it swallows, then the hunters pull the line When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud, when this is done the quarry is very easily mastered, which, without that, is no light matter

71 River horses are sacred in the province of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt For their outward form, they are four footed, with cloven hoofs like oxen, their noses are blunt, they are minded like horses, with tusks showing, and have a horse's tail and a horse's neigh, their bigness is that of the biggest oxen Their hide is so thick that when it is dried spearshafts are made of it

72 Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred, and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale fish, and the eel These, and the fox goose² among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile

73 Another bird also is sacred, it is called the phoenix I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it, for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt,

¹ κροκόδειλος is Ionic for a lizard, the commoner word is σαύρα or σαύρος χέμψι is the Egyptian "em suh" a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," e em-suh with the feminine article prefixed

² Or "Nile goose" The Egyptian goose (*Chenalopex Aegyptica*)

once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this. first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies, so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

74 Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.

75 Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents, many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones

scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt, but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

76 Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all deep black, with legs like a crane's, and a beak strongly hooked, its size is that of a handful. Such is the outward form of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most consort with men (for the ibis is of two kinds)¹ have all the head and neck bare of feathers, their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black), the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77 Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches, for they think

¹ *Gerontic* * *Calrus* and *Ibis Aethiopica*.

φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς ιούσους τοῖσι ἀιθρώποισι γίγεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Λίγυτοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀιθρώπων τῶν ὡρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσοισι αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῆσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίγιονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἔκεινοι κυλλήστις οἰομάζουσι. οἵ τοις δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωται· οὐ γάρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἵχθυων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐηναντες ὡμοὺς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἔξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὄρνιθων δὲ τούς τε ὄρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήστας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὄρνιθων ὡμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἡ ὄρνιθων ἡ ἵχθυων σφι ἔστι ἔχόμενα, χωρὶς ἡ ὁκόσοι σφι ἵροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίησι τοῖσι εὐδαιμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον¹ ἡ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει ““Ἐς τοῦτον ὄρέων τίνε τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.”” ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

79. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἔστι ιόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἐν ἔστι, Λίος, ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκῃ ἀσίδημος ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ

¹ MSS. πάντη πηχυαῖος; Stein brackets πάντη, “a cubit's length every way” being unintelligible here.

it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis"¹ of course grain. For wine, they use a drink made of barley, for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish uncooked, either dried in the sun or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw, all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

78 At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries round a wooden image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "Drink and make merry, but look on this, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." Such is the custom at their drinking bouts.

79 They keep the ordinances of their fathers, and add none others to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus song,² which is sung in Phoenice and Cyprus

¹ Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

² This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer). Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus, the Semitic refrain *ai lenu*, "alas for us," becomes the Greek *ai λινος*, from which comes the name Linus.

HERODOTUS

μέντοι ἔθνεα οὐνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὡτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ "Ἐλληνες Λίνον ὄνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἔόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὄκόθεν ἐλαβον τὸ οῦνομα" φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεύμενος Μανερῶς. ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἴγυπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἴγυπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τούτοισι ὑπὸ Αἴγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μουνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἴγυπτιοι· 'Ἐλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι' οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι 'Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται' ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἄλληλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέοντες κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα.

81. 'Ενδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἵρα ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ δσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι 'Ορφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἔοῦσι δὲ Αἴγυπτοισι καὶ Πιθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὄργιών μετέχοιτα δσιον ἔστι ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἵρος λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἴγυπτοισι ἔστι ἔξευρη· μέια, μείς τε καὶ ίμέρη ἔκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἔστι,

and elsewhere, each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus, wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song, the name for Linus in Egyptian is Minerōs¹. The Egyptians told me that Minerōs was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour, and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80 There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedæmonians have in common with the Egyptians — younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece — passers by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81 They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called "elasiris, and loose white woollen mantles over these. But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them, that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the ritual called Orphic and Bacchic, but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean, for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woollen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82 I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god,

¹ Minerōs probably from the *μενέωντα* "concerning us."

καὶ τῇ ἔκαστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὅτεοισι ἐγκυρήσει
καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὄκοιός τις ἔσται. καὶ
τούτοισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσι γενόμενοι
ἔχρισαντο. τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύριται ἡ
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀπασι ἀνθρώποισι γενομένον γὰρ
τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῷ ποβαίνον,
καὶ ἦν κοτε ὑστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται,
κατὰ τώντὸν νομίζουσι ἀποβῆσεσθαι.

83. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὥδε διακέεται ἀνθρώ-
πων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν
μετεξετέροισι^τ καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντῆιον αὐτόθι
ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος
καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ
ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντήων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ
πόλι έστι. οὐ μέντοι αἴ γε μαντήιαι σφι κατὰ
τώντὸν ἔστασι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἵητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δεδασται^τ
μιῆς νούσου ἔκαστος ἵητρός ἔστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνων.
πάντα δ' ἵητρῶν ἔστι πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄφθαλμῶν
ἵητροὶ κατεστᾶσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὁδόντων, οἱ
δὲ τῶν κατὰ μηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

85. Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφεων εἰσὶν αἰδε· τοῖσι
ἄν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀνθρωπος τοῦ· τις
καὶ λόγος ἢ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων
τούτων κατ' ὃν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἡ
καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κάπειται ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λι-
ποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στραφώ-
μεναι τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμέναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς
μαζούς, σὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἐτέρω-
θεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεξωμένοι καὶ οὗτοι.
ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν
κομίζουσι.

they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. Thus has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together, when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down, and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

83 As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to some of the gods, but to no one among men, there are in their country oracles of Hercules, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and (which is the most honoured of all) of Leto in the town of Buto. Nevertheless they have diverse ways of divination, not one only.

84 The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.

85 They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud, then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing, and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.

86. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταῦτην. οὗτοι, ἐπεάν σφι κομισθῆ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα¹ . . . , καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὄνομά-
ζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δεικνύουσι ὑποδεεστέρην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελε-
στάτην· φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆιαι τὸν νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὡδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδῆρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἔξαγουσι τὸν ἔγκεφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτῳ ἔξαγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιρπικῷ ὁξεῖ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἔξ ὧν εἴλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθή-
σαντες οἷνῳ φοεικήρῳ αὐτις διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἐπειτα τὴν υηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηρύτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμιημάτων, πλὴν λιθανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὁπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαν-
τες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδο-
μήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσονται πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσαίνης τελαμώσι κατα-
τετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῃ, τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Λίγυπτοι. ἐιθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοι μν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλιον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

¹ MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.

86 There are men whose whole business this is and who have this special craft These, when a dead body is brought to them, show the bringers wooden models of corpses, painted in exact imitation, the most perfect manner of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it were profane for me to speak in treating of such matters, the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper, and the third is the least costly of all Having shown these, they ask the bringers of the body in which fashion they desire to have it prepared The bearers, having agreed in a price, go their ways, and the workmen, left behind in their place, embalm the body If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices, and presently, filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and cassia and any other spices, save only frankincense, they sew up the anus Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre, no longer time is allowed for the embalming, and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue, which done, they give back the dead man to his friends These make a hollow wooden figure like a man,

έσεργνυσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ιστάντες ὄρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

87. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελεῖην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὡδεῖς ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστῆρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλειφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧν ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὕτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὕτε ἔξελόντες τὴν υηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἔξιεῖσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσῆκαν πρότερον. Η δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἀμα ἐωτῆ τὴν υηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἔξαγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατήκει, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὄστέα. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ή δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἔστιν ἡδε, ή τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίη διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεοθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναικας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ δσαι ἀν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναικες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἡ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδοῦσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἴνεκεν, ἵνα μή σφι οἱ ταριχεύταν μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί· λαμφθῆισι γάρ τινα φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναικύς, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὄμότεχνον.

which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin chamber, placed erect against a wall

87 This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion¹, those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning, then they embalm the body for the appointed days, on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved, the flesh is eaten away by the salt-petre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88 When they use the third manner of embalming, which is the preparation of the poorer dead, they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away.

89 Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given over to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days, this is done, that the embalmers may not have carnal intercourse with them. For it is said that one was found having intercourse with a woman newly dead, and was denounced by his fellow workman.

¹ ΤΟ ΣΤΑ ΤΟΛΥΤΕΣΤΑ, OR ΠΟΛΥΤΕΣΤΑ

90. Ὡς δ' ἂν ἡ πύτων Αἰγυπτίων ἦ ξεῖνων ὄμοιώς ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθεὶς ἦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἔξενειχθῆ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἵρησι θήκησι· οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλου οὐδέρα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἄλλα μιν αἱ ἱρέες αὐτοὶ τοῦ Νείλου ἄπε πλέον τι ἡ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν χειραπτάζοντες θύπτουσι.

91. Ἐλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγοντι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδα μῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μέν υἱοὶ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἐστι δὲ Χέρμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἵρδιν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἵροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγύλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστάσι λίθινοι μεγύλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ ηῆστε τε ἔιναι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χερμῖται λέγοντες τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἐστι τοῦ ἵροῦ, σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὑρίσκεσθαι ἐὸν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχον, τὸ ἐπεὰν φαινῆ, εὐθηνέειν ἀπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγοντες, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἐλληνικὰ τῷ Περσέᾳ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἀεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μεν ὁ τεσφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὃ τε κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες,

90 When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up, nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City, in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great, and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long, when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say, and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,

ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτῶν πόλιος γεγο-
νέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἔόντας
Χερμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τού-
των γενεθλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα.
ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίην τὴν
καὶ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, οἴσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γορ-
γοῦς κεφαλήν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας
καὶ ἀναγυνῶνται τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας ἐκμεμαθη-
κότα δέ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέρ-
μιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγῶνα
δέ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων
οἰκέοντες Αἴγυπτοι νομέζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι
ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι
χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἴγυπτοι, καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μῆν ἔκαστος αὖτῶν συνοικέει
κατά περ Ἐλληνες, ἀτάρ πρὸς εὐτελεῖην τῶν
σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἔξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλιήρης
γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται
ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνει πολλά, τὰ Αἴγυπτοι καλέονται
λιώτον· ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐλίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον
καὶ ἐπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λιώτου, τῇ μήκων ἐὸν
ἔμφερές, πτίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους
ὄπποις πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ λιώτου τούτου
ἔδωδιμη καὶ ἔγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὸν στρογγύλον,
μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνει
ρόδοισι ἔμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γιγόμενα καὶ
ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυ-
μένη ἐκ τῆς ρίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην
όμοιότατον ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρίν ἐλπίης
ἴγγινεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὴ ταῦτα
καὶ πῖα. τὴν δὲ βύθισμον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην

they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city, for Danus and Lynceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis, and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin, and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92 All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste, it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses, the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps, this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which

ἔτεαν ἀιαστάστως ἐκ τῶν ἔλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄιω
αὐτῆς ἀποτάμισι τες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ
κάτω λελειμμένου ὕστον τε ἐπὶ -ῆχυν τρώγουσι
καὶ πωλέουσι·¹ οἱ δὲ ἄν καὶ κάρτα βουλωνται
χρηστῇ τῇ βύθῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ
πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τις εἰς αὐτῶν
ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵχθυων μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι
καὶ ἔξελωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίρουσι πρὸς ηλιον καὶ
ἔπειτα αὔουσι ἔόντας σιτέονται.

93. Οἱ δὲ ἵχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποτα-
μοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι
λίμνησι τοιάδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεάν σφεας ἐσὶν οἰστρος
κυῖσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν
ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ,
αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακύπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυ-
σκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεες γένονται ἐν τῇ θα-
λάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὅπισω ἐς ηθεα τὰ ἑωυτῶν
ἔκαστοι, ἡγέοιται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ
τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ή ἡγεμονίη ἡγεύμεται δὲ
ἀγεληδὸν ποιεῦσι οἱόν περ ἐποίευν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν
γαρ φῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων,
οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
κέγχροι οὗτοι ἵχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων
καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφομενοι
ἵχθύες γίνονται οἱ δ' ἄν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλώοντες
ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀρι-
στερὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, οἱ δ' ἄν ὅπισω ἀιαπλώοντες,
τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ
τόδε ἔχόμει οι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώοντες
ἐς θαλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὅπισω τῆς αὐτῆς

¹ Stein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate. It should perhaps come after τράπουσι above

grows annually. It is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the bubbles at its very best bake it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93 Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river, they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes, but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads, those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold

ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ φαύοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μηδ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον.
 ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε
 καῦλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν
 ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος
 τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα
 γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν
 τίμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνε-
 σθαι, ἐγώ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο· τοῦ προ-
 τέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπῃ ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες
 ἐντεκόντες ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐλὺν ἄμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι
 ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου
 τάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν φῶν τούτων παρ-
 αυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὗτοι.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλε-
 φατὶ δὲ χρέωνται Λίγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα
 οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ
 καλεῦσι μὲν Λίγυπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὅδε.
 παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν
 σπείρονται τὰ σιλλικύτρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν "Σὺλησι"
 αὐτομata ὑγρα φύεται ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Λίγυπτῳ
 στειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει τολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δε-
 τούτοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀτέφουσι, καὶ τὸ
 ἀτορρεον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον
 καὶ οὐδέν ιῆσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ τροσημένον,
 οὐδεὶς δὲ βαρέαν ταρέχεται.

95. Προς δὲ τοὺς κωνωτας ἀφθόοιονται τα-
 τίδες σφι ἔστι μεμηχανημένα τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄγρα
 τῶν ἐλέων οἰεῖσθαις οἱ πύργοι ὀφελέονται, ἐς τοὺς
 μαρτιῶντες κοιμᾶνταις οἱ γάρ κώνωτες ὑπὸ^{τοῦ}
 τῶν ἀνίδων οὐκ οἶσι τε εἰσὶ οὐδὲν πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι

to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water, and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes

94 So much then for the fishes The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor berry, which they call kiki They sow this plant on the banks of the rivers and lakes, it grows wild in Hellas, in Egypt it produces abundant but ill smelling fruit, which is gathered, and either bruised and pressed, or boiled after roasting, and the liquid that comes from it collected This is thick and as useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell

95 Gnats are abundant, this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft, those

δι τερι -α ἔνεισ αἰκένοντοι ταῦθε ὑπτὶ τῶι τίχυωι
ἄλλο μεμηχάνηται· τὰς ὑπῆρ αἰτῶν ἀμφίβλη-
στρον ἐκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ὑμέρης ἰχθὺς ἄγρειει,
τὴν δε ιύκτα τάχε αἰτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀιαταίεται
κοιτῇ, περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ
ἔτειτα ἐρδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεῖσει. οἱ δὲ κώιωτες
ἡρ μὲν ἐν ἴματέῳ ἐγειλιξάμενος εὗδῃ ἡ σιδόνι,
διὰ τούτων δικιούσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ
πειρῶι ται ἀρχήν.

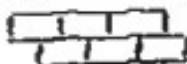
96 Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέοισι,
ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης τοιεύμεια, τῆς ί μορφὴ μὲν
ἔστι ὄμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναϊκῷ λιοτῷ, τὰ δὲ δάκρυον
κομμι ἔστι. ἐκ ταύτης ὡν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι
ξύλα ὅσον τε διτίχεα τλιθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι
ναυτηγεύμενοι τρότοι τοιόνδε περὶ γόμφους τυ-
κνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς τεριείρουσι τὰ διτίχεα ξύλα·
ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρότῷ τούτῳ ναυτηγήσωνται, ζυγά
ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν
χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧ ἐτάκ-
τωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται,
καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ίστῳ δὲ
ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ίστίοισι δὲ βυθίνοισι. ταῦτα
τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται τλέειν,
ἥν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρ-
έλκεται, κατὰ ρόον δὲ κομίζεται ὥδε· ἔστι ἐκ
μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ρίπει
καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μά-
λιστά κη σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδε-
μένην κάλῳ ἐμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπιεῖ ἐπι-
φέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὅπισθε ἡ
μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ρόον ἐμπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως
καὶ ἐλκει τὴν βάρειν (τοῦτο γάρ δὴ οὖνομα ἔστι

living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it, but through the net they do not even try at all to bite

96 The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia,¹ which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,² and build the boat by making these two cubit logs fast to long and close set stakes, and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs They use no ribs They caulk the seams within with byblus There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel The mast is of acacia wood and the sails of byblus These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue, they are towed from the bank, but downstream they are thus managed they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents weight, the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

¹ The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat building in Egypt

² That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating



τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὅπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἔστι ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθένει τὸν πλόσον. ἔστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλιθέι πολλά, καὶ ἄγες ἔντα πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

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these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats, some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97 When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves,¹ the usual course is not this, but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus' town.

98 Anthylla is a town of some name, and is specially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, for the provision of her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Archandrus son of Phthius the Achaean, and son in-law of Danaus, for it is called Archandrus' town. It may be that there was another Archandrus, but the name is not Egyptian.

99 Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he

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ίρεες ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Φάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μίνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὄρέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νεῖλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτη, κάνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἔστι. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μίνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλέι χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἡτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέεται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἵρεες ἐκ βύθου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὖνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτῃσι δὲ γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαΐδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἡσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὔνομα ἦν, ἡτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελφεῶν, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείγαντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιληίην, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in, for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis—for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt—and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place), and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100 After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the name of her))—

διαφθεῖραι δόλῳ. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἰκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δέ μιν Αἴγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταπίους τοῦ φόνου ἥδες πολλοὺς ιστιὰν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτήν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἔξεργαστο, ρίψαι ἐς οἰκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γάρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μολρίος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὁρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος δσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὅμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102. Παραμειψάμενος ὡν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοισι γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ οὗνομα ἵν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὄρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὅπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, -ολλήν στρατιὴν τῶν . .¹ λαβὼν ἥλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡτείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος.

¹ A word is omitted, perhaps θρήνος; τῶν θρήνος = of his subjects

many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber, then, with the pretence of hindselling it, but with far other intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most concerned in her brother's murder, and while they feasted she let the river in upon them by a great and secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, save that also when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, thereby to escape vengeance.

101 But of the other kings they related no achievement or deed of great note, save of Moeris, who was the last of them. This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as many furlongs in circuit as I shall later show, and built there pyramids also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said, of none of the rest had they any thing to record.

102 Passing over these, therefore, I will now speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris.¹ This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships² from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

¹ Rameses II, called by the Greeks Sesostris, said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.

² Ships of war.

ότέοισι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δειρῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης, τούτοισι μὲν στῆλας ἔνιστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὔνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀγδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶησαν ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξῆνε τὴν ἥπειρον, ἐς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εύρωπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήνικας. ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρῳ τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὅπισση, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνη αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔοντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἡ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγων ὡς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ὑμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· νομίζειν δὲ ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς

which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power, but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave, but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103 Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went, for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. Hence he turned about and went back homewards, and when he came to the Phasis river, it may be (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge) that King Sesostris divided off some part of his army and left it there to dwell in the country, or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis.

104 For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians, and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples, and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians, the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris army. I myself guessed it to be

οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίη αὐτὸς ὥρων ἔούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἴδοια. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίνης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχοντας καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἔκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπτας μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἄριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτων· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅμου ἐς τὸν ἔτερον ὅμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμμπτα ἵρᾳ Αἰγύπτιᾳ διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· “Ἐγὼ τίνδε τὴν χώρην ὅμοιστη τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην.” ὅστες δὲ καὶ οκόθεν ἔστε, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἔτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμρονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι μὲν εἴραι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τούτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἄγαχωρέοιτα καὶ ἀνύγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἔθνεων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Διάφυγαις τῇσι Ηγδουσίσαι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἔωντον, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε οἱ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἰγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπίξείντια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς πάντῃ τοῖς παῖδας περινῆσας ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὅλη, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑπαπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὃς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐγ καὶ τὴν γυναικαν αὐτὸν ἅμα ἀγεσθαι· τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλεῦσαι τῶν ταῖσαν ἔονταν ἐξ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείνατα γεμιρῦσπι τὸ κατύμενον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσωζοῦσθαι. ταῦτα τοιῆσται τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ ἐν-

longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women's privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures¹ of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of four cubits and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto, for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian, and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders. There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth."

107 Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him, and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

¹ Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.

HERODOTUS

μὲν τῶν παῖδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς
δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἄμα τῷ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον
καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὅμαλῷ τὸν
ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ
μὲν τάδε ἔχριστο· τούς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ¹
τούτου τοῦ βασιλέος κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφα-
στου τὸ ἱρόν, ἔόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι
ἡσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν
ἔούσας ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι
ῶρυσσαν, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ
πρὸν ἔοισαν ἵππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξενομένην πᾶσαν,
ἐνδεῖ τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴ-
γυπτος ἔοισα πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμά-
ξευτος γέγονε· αἵτιαι δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες
γεγόνασι ἔοισαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους
ἔχουσαι. κατέταμε δὲ τοῦδε εἶνεκα τὴν χώρην
οἱ βασιλεὺς δοσοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πο-
ταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσαυς, οὗτοι,
ὅκας τε ἀπίοις ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὕδαταν
πλατυτέροισι ἔχρεωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων
χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἶνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴ-
γυπτος. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι
ἄπασι τούτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον Ἰσον
ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς
προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν
ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου
ὁ ποταμός τε παρέλοιστο, ἐλθὼν ἀν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἰσήμαντε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὃ δὲ ἐπειπε τοὺς ἐπι-
σκεψόμενους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσφι ἐλάσσων
οἱ χῶροις γέγονε, ὅκας τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον

two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father

108 Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus, and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109 For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him, then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should

τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εύρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλου μὲν γὰρ καὶ γυνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαθυλανίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἑλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἴθιοπίης ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἔως τὸν τε καὶ τὴν γυναικα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἔοντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· τῶν δὴ ὁ ἵρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαιστου χρονῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἵσταντα ἐμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φας οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἴα περ Σεσωστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν· οὐκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἵσταναι ἐμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναβημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἐλεγον τὴν βασιληὴν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηήν, συνενείχθῆναι δέ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα· τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίη χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τὸν ὄφθαλμον τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ

pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land, the sun-clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110 Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these, but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian, for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians, therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111 When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.¹ This king made no wars, and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason. The Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind, then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

¹ Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title I haraoh.

ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθας οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦ πόλιος ὡς ἔξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ξημένης καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἄνδρῶν ἐδῦσα ἅπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναικας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἢ τῆς τῷ οὔρῳ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἢ οὐν καλέεται Ἐρυθρὴ θώλος· ἐν ταύτῃ συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι· τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὔρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγῶν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἵρα πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἔστι ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐὸντα ἑκάτερον λίθουν, μῆκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πηγέων ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ ὁκτὼ πηγέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλήην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν οὔνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ οὗν τέμενος ἔστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὑ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς ύότον ἄνεμον κελμένον. περιοικέοντι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπτας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει· τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέεται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομας δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἐλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοώς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἐλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης Ἀφρ-

oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the time of his punishment was drawing to an end, and that he should regain his sight by washing his eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as he still remained blind, with all women, one after another. When he at last recovered sight, he took all the women of whom he had made trial, save only her who had made him to see again, and gathered them into one town, that which is now called "Red Clay", where having collected them together he burnt them and the town, but the woman by whose means he had recovered sight he took to wife. Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness, most worthy of mention are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits thick.

112 Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the precinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of

δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἔστι· δσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης
ιρά ἔστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. "Ἐλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἴστορέοντι τὰ περὶ¹
Ἐλένην γενέσθαι ὡδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα
Ἐλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ·
καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξώσται ἀνεμοὶ
ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἴγυπτον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν
δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴ-
γυπτον καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν
καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας.
ἥν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡιόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἔστι Ἡρακλέος
ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἥν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὡν ἀνθρώ-
πων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἵρα, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ
θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος
διατελέει ἐών ὅμοιος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἡπ' ἀρχῆς.
τοῦ ὡν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες
πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἵκέται
δὲ ιζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγον ἔξηγεύ-
μενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς
Μενέλεων ἀδεικήην κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρός τε
τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον,
τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Θῶνις.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν
ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην
λέγουσαν τάδε. Ἡκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός,
ἥργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔχεργασμένος
ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἔξαπατήσας τὴν γυναικα
αὐτῆν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα
χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθείς.
κότερα δῆτα τούτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν τῇ

the Stranger Aphrodite, for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name

113 When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen —After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country, violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea, whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Sailing-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Hercules, where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114 When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis "There has come hither a Teuerian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which

ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἄνδρα τοῦτοι, δοστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἔωσταῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὃ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει."

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἴκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἴη καὶ ὄκοθεν πλέοι. ὁ δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὖν ομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγγήσατο ὄκοθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὄκοθεν τὴν Ἐλένην λάβοι πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἥλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἴκέται, ἔξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δή σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων δτε "Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἥγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, δοσις ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἡδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἀν σε ὑπέρ τοῦ Ἐλληνος ἐτισάμην, δι, ὡ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχῶν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργασαο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναικα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἰχει ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραΐσας ἤκειτ. νῦν ὡν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἥγημαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναικα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὕ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἐλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἀν αὐτὸς ἀλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι

he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message: "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entreated you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host's house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions, I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to

έθέλη· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.”

116. Ἐλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπιξεν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ “Ομηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ ὅμοιώς ἐς τὴν ἐποτοιίην εὐπρεπής ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἔχριστο, ἐκῶν μετῆκε αὐτὸν, δηλώσας ώς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γάρ]¹ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῆ ἄλλῃ ἀνετόδισε ἔωστόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ώς ἀπηιείχθη ἄγων Ἐλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ τλαζόμενος καὶ ώς ἐς Σιδῶια τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ πάντοι ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηίῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπει τῶν.

“Ἐνθ' ἔσταν οἱ τέτλοι ταμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γινακῶν Σιδοιίων, τὰς πύτὸς Ἀλέξαι δρος θεοειδῆς ἥγαγε Σιδοιίηθει, ἐπιτλῶς εὐρέα πόιτον, τὴν οδὸν ἦν Ἐλένην τερ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν ἐπιμέμιηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Οδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσι δε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιέεται,
ἴσθλά, τά οι Πολίδαμια τόρει Θῶιος ταρά
κοιτει
Λίγεττίη, τῇ τλεῖστα φέρει ζείσωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, τολλὰ μὲν ίσθλὰ μεμηγμένα, τολλὰ
ἔε λιγρά.

take them away, but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies”

116 This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story, but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with
minifold colours,

Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris
aforetime

Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas
voyaging thither,

Even when he won from her home fair Helen, the
daughter of princes¹

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also

Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly
mingled,

Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon,
Polydamma,

Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus, for there of the
country's abundance,

Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many
engendered.²

¹ *H.* vi. 259-272. ² *Od.* iv. 277-283.

HERODOTUS

καὶ τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμιῶτα νέεσθαι
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τελησσας ἑκατόμβας.¹

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἐπεστι δῆλοι ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς
Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμουρέει γὰρ ἡ
Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶν ἡ Σιδών,
ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ
χωρίον οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δῆλοι ὅτι οὐκ
Ομῆρος τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός.
ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος
ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον
ἄγων Ἐλένην, εὐτέλει τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ
θαλάσση λείη· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο
ἄγων αὐτήν.

118. "Ομηρος μέν τυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπει
χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου δέ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον
λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἐλλῆνες τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον γενέ-
σθαι ἡ οὖ. ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ιστορίησι
φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. ἐλθεῖν μὲν
γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἐλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρόδα
γῆν Ἐλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέ-
λεω. ἔκβασαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἴδρυθεῖσαν τὴν
στρατιὴν πέμπτεν ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ
οφι ἵέται καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε
ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἐλένην ταυρι-
τὰ χρήματα τά οἱ οἴχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρον
τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰδεῖεν. ^{τοιούτοις}

¹ Stein brackets θεούμενοι... τίς δὲ τοιούτοις
says; the quotations from the Odyss.,
with the story of Alexander.

and again Menelaus says to Telemachus.

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in
Egypt,
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacri-
fice duly¹

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt, for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117 These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea, but according to the Iliad he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118 Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they give me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said — After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teuerian land on Menelaus' behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done, but the Teuerians then and ever afterwards

¹ Od. iv. 351. 2.

κροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα,
καὶ ὅμιλύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἐλένην
μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι αὐτὰ
πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀν δικαίως αὐτοὶ¹
δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς
ἔχει. οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες καταγελᾶσθαι δοκέοντες
ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς δὲ ἔξειλον"
ἔλουσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἐλένη;
ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπιυθάνοντο,
οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ
"Ἐλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ
Πρωτέα.

. 119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον
καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἴπας τὴν ἀλη-
θείην τῶν πρηγυμάτων, καὶ ξειρίων ἥντησε μεγάλων
καὶ Ἐλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ
τὰ ἑωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων
ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἴγυπτίους.
ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὄρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἀπλοῖαι·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπι-
τεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο
παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε.
μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος,
μισηθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἰχετο φεύγων τῇσι
νησσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι
ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἴπειν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων
δὲ τὰ μὲν ιστορίησι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ
παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι
λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ
δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἐλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς
προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἡν Ἐλένη ἐν

declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt, nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it, and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119 Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis, there, telling the whole truth of what had happened he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather, and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya, and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120 So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then

Παμψίνιτον ἔλεγου, ὃς μημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἔστι τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Λίγυπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἔστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσί τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἔγγυς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἰκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἔνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἔνα ἔξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ρηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἰκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἔοντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν, δκως βίου ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέος· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἔξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔξαιρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέος χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίου, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδο-

was Rhampsinitus The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, before this he set two statues of twenty-five cubits' height, the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter, that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later born kings could surpass or nearly match it That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure house, he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it, saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay coming to the palace by night, they easily found and

μήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἔξενείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ὑνοίξαντα τὸ οἰκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖ τὰ ἀγγήια, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἔοντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκῆματος κεκλημέρου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρὶς ἀγοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κερατίζοντας), ποιῆσαι μὲν τάδε πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήια ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὕσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ίθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνῶνται αὐτὸν ἐν οἴφι κακῷ ἦν, ίθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅκως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὃς εἴη προσαπολέση κάκεῖνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μὲν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρρόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἶκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἰκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὁρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔόν, τὸ δὲ οἰκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἐσοδον, οὔτε ἐκδυσιν οὐδεμίᾳν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δέ μὲν τάδε ποιῆσαι τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφι, τὸν ἀν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν.

'Ανακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα

hindled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in, when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out, and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved. She talked with

ποιειν μένην προστίσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ δύναται
μηχανᾶσθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κατα-
λύσας κομεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἡμελήσει, διαπειλέειν
αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει
αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς
ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέόντος παιδὸς καὶ
πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἐπειθεῖ, ἐπιτεχνή-
σασθαι τοιάδε μιν· ὅνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ
ἀσκοὺς πλιήσαντα οἶνον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὅνων
καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς
φυλάσσοντας ἣν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπά-
σαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν
λύειν ἀπαμμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κε-
φαλήν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βαῶντα ὡς οὐκ
ἔχοντα πρὸς ὄκοιον τῶν ὅνων πρώτου τράπηται.
τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους· ὡς ἵδεν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν
οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγῆια ἔχοντας,
καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδεῃ
ποιειμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι ὄργην
προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν
φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρητεῖσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ
ὑπίεσθαι τῆς ὄργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς
ὅνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ
λόγους τε πλέους ἔγγινεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι
μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέοσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι
τῶν ἀσκῶν ἔντα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὕσπερ εἰχον κατα-
κλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παρ-
λαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μείναντα
συμπίγειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι.
ὡς δέ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο,
ἐπιδοῦνται αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δαψιλέϊ
δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-

her surviving son, and bade him contrive by what ever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and by an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot. He got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body, then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings, and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky, the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them, but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them, and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of

θυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς υγιότητος, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τὴν μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὅμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· δις δ' ἀν ἀπηγγήσηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἶνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουληθέντα πολυτροπή τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιέειν τάδε· νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὕδωρ τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἴματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἔργασμέος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἥκουσε ἀπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ

liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first slitting all the guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life, then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in

HERODOTUS

Ὑσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπνου αὐτοῦ
ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς
πρόσω ην τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ
καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων
ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν
νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄγρους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτε-
λέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς
ὅ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν· πάντως δὲ
βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι δοστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα
μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ
πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ'
οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσ-
δέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν
λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ
σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· διὸ δὲ ἀν ἀπηγγῆ-
σηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον
συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν
παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν
φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἶνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο,
βουλ· οὐ· — γε· — εἰς θεούς τοις γενετικοῖς
σθαι·

ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ τῷ ἰματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δε ως του βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἔργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους κατεβύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἥκουσε ἀπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτείναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκραῦ

liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving all the guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came, before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life, then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in

-ῆς χεῖρα -ῆς δὲ ἐ-ιλαθομένηι ἔχει, ιομίζοισαι
αἰ-οῖ εκεῖνον -ῆς χειροῦ ἀ-εχεσθαι -ὸι δὲ ἕδρα
-ροέμειοι αἰ-ῆς οἰχεσθαι διὰ θύρας ξείγοισ-

*Ως δὲ καὶ -αῦτα ἐ-, -ὸι βασιλέα ἀηγρείθη,
ἐκ-ε-λῆχθαι μὲν ἐ-ὶ -ῆ -ολι φροσίνη -ε καὶ
-υλμη -οῦ ἀιθρω-ον, -ελος δὲ δια-έμ-οντα ἐ-,
-άστας -ὰς -όλις ἐ-αγγεῖλεσθαι ἀ-εί-ητι -ε δὲ
δοι-α καὶ μεγάλα ὑ-οδεκόμειοι ἀθόντι ἐς δύτι
τὴν ἁωτοῦ -ὸι δὲ φῶρα -ισ-είσατα ἀθεῦ
-ρὸ, αἰ-οί, *Ραμψύ-ιοι δὲ μεγαλως θωμάσαι, καὶ
οι -ῆς θιγα-έρα -αύ-ης συνοικίσαι ὡς -λεῖσ-α
-ε-ισ-αμένῳ ἀιθρώ-ῳ Λίγυ-ίοι, μει γὰρ -ῷ
ἄλλωι -ροκεκρισθαι, ἐκεῦοι δὲ λίγυ-ίωι

122 Με-ὰ δε -αῦτα ἀλεγοι -οῦοι -ὸι βασιλέα
ξωδὶ κα-αβῆιαι κά-ω ἐς -ὸι οἱ "Ελληνες" Λιδηι
ιομίζουσι εἴναι, καὶ κείθι συγκυρεει -ῆ Δήμητρι,
καὶ -ὰ μὲν τικᾶι αὐ-ῆν -ὰ δε ἐσσοῦσθαι ί-
αύ-ῆς, καὶ μι -άλιι ἀ-ικέσθαι δῶροι ἔχοισ-α
-αρ' αύ-ῆς χειρόμακ-ροι χρίσεοι. ἀ-ὸ δε -ῆ
*Ραμψύ-ιον κα-αβασιος, ὡς -αλιι ἀ-ικε-ο, ὄρ-ήι
δὴ ἀιαγειν Λίγυ-ίοντις ἔφασαν -ῆς καὶ ἐγὼ οίδα
ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐ-ι-ελέοντας αὐ-ούς, οὐ μένοι εἴ
γε διὰ -αῦτα ὄρ-άζουσι ἔχω λέγειν φάρος δὲ
αὐ-ημερον ἔξυφήι αιτει ο' ιρέεις κα- ὡς ἔδησαν
ἔιδος ἁωτῶι μί-ρη τους ὁδθαλμούς, ἀγαγόντες δέ
μι ἔχοισ-α -ὸ φάρος ἐς οδὸι φέροισαι ἐς ιροι
Δίημητρος αὐτοὶ ἀ-αλλάσσοι-αι ὅ-ισω -ὸι δε
ιρέα-οῦ-ον κα-αδεδεμειοι τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς λέγοισι
υ-ο δύο λύκωι ἀ-γεσθαι ἐς -ὸ ιρὸι -ῆς Δήμητρος
ἀ-έχοι τῆς -όλιος εἴκοσι σ-αδίους, καὶ αὐτις
ὅ-ισω ἐκ τοῦ ιροῦ ἀ-άγειν μιν -οὺς λύτους ἐς
-ῶντὸ χωρίοι.

the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him, Rhampsinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122 After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades, there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampsinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter, they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves¹ to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

¹ Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.

123. Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά· ἔστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἔκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δῆμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἔστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐσ ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὗτις ἐσ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἔχρησαντα, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἵ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἐωυτῶν ἔόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μέν νυν Ἡραμψινίτου βασιλέος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἐλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἰγυπτου μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ἐσ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακληήσαντα γάρ μν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιέων τουτέων ἀπέρξας, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὅρεϊ, ἐκ τουτέων ἐλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοισι τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροισι ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεύμενον ὅρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἔκάστην. χρονον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' οὐν εἴλακον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἐργον ἐὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἐλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ὡς ἐμοὶ

123 These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus¹. Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth, and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own, I know their names, but do not here record them.

124 Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there, and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,²

¹ Isis and Osiris

² The "Great Pyramid."

δοκέειν τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πάντε πτίδιοι,
εὐρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυιαῖ, ὑψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ
ἔστι αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυιαῖ, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ
καὶ ζῷων ἐγγεγλυμμένων ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα
ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὐ
ἔστασι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς αἰκημάτων, τὰς
ἐποιέετο θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ
Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον
γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ παιταχῆ
μέτωπον ἕκαστοι ὀκτὼ πλέθρα ἔουσι τετραγώνου
καὶ ὑψος ἵστον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ὑρμοσμένου
τὰ μάλιστα· σὺνδεῖς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν
ἔλασσων.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὡδε αὐτῇ ἡ πυραμίς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οὐ δὲ βωμίδας ὄνομάζουσι, τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπείτε
ἔποιησαν αὐτήν, ἱειρον τοὺς ἐπειλοίπους λίθους
μηχανῆσι ἔύλων βραχέων πεποιημένησι, χαμᾶ·
θεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν
ἀείροντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἐς ἐτέρην
μηχανῆν ἐτίθετο ἔστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρῶτου
στοῖχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἰλκετο
στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι
ἡσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ
ἡσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἔοῦσαν μίαν
τε καὶ εὐθάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον
ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἔξελοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ
ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, κατά περ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη
δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ
ἔχόμενα τούτων ἔξεποιεν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ
ἔπιγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἔξεποιησαν. σεσήμαν-
ται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Λίγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα-

for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised it its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand , these the king meant to be burial places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same , the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted , there is no block of less than thirty feet in length

125 This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, or steps When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones,¹ they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps, when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn, when they had taken out the stone I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part There are writings on² the pyramid

¹ That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo

² Or, "in"

μίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμια καὶ σκόρδα
 ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ
 μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἔρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ
 γράμματα ἔφη, ἔξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα
 ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα
 ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἔστι ἔς τε
 σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι
 ἐργαζομένοισι, ὅκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ
 ἐργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν
 τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ηγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν
 δρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγου χρόνον.

126. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε
 χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἔωυτοῦ
 κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι
 ἀργυρίου ὄκδον δή τε οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε ἐλεγον.
 τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσ-
 σεσθαι, ἵδιη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μυημῆιον
 καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκά-
 στου δέεσθαι ὄκως ἀν αὐτῇ ἔνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι
 ἐργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν
 τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν
 τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαι, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυρα-
 μίδος, τῆς ἔστι τὸ κῶλον ἔκαστον ὅλου καὶ
 ἡμίσεος πλέθρου!

127. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰ-
 γύπτιοι ἐλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος
 δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν
 αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆγα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ
 διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα
 ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν
 ταῦτα γὰρ ὡν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔμετρήσαμεν. (οὗτε γὰρ
 ὑπεστὶ οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου

in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen, and so far as I well remember, the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126 And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not, for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work, and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid, each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127 Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years, at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother's. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered.

διώρυξ ἵκει ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσῆρε ἐς τὴν ἔτέρην ρέοντα
 δι' οικοδομημένου δι' αὐλῶνος εἴσοι τῆσον τεριρρέει,
 εν τῇ αὐτῷ λεγούσαι κεισθαι λεοπά ντοξείμπος
 δὲ τοι πρῶτοι δομον λιθον Λιθιοτικοῦ οικίλου,
 τεσσερακοιτα θοδας ὑποβας τῆς ἔτερης ἀντὸ μέ-
 γαθος, ἔχομει ηι τῆς μεγιελης οικοδομησε ἐστᾶσι
 δε ἐτὶ λοφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ αμφοτεραι, μαλιστα ἐς
 ἑκατον πυδας ὑψηλοῦ βασιλεῦσαι δε ἐλεγον
 λεφρῆια ἔξ και πει τηκοι τη ἔτεα

128 Ιαῦτα ἔξ τε καὶ ἐκπον λογιζονται ἔτεα,
 ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτιοισι τε τῦσαν εἴαι κακότητα
 και τα ιρα χρονου τοσούτου λπακλησθεντα οὐκ
 αι οιχθῆναι τουτους ὑπο μισεος οὐ καρτα θέλουσι
 Αἰγυπτιοι οιομαζειν ἄλλα και τὰς τυραμίδας
 καλεουσι ποιμειος Φιλιππος, δις τοῦτοι τὸν χρόνον
 ἔνεμε κτηνεα λατα ταῦτα τα χωρια

129 Μετὰ δε τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγυπτου
 Μυκερίου ἐλεγον λεοτος παῖδα τῷ τα μεν τοῦ
 πατρος ἔργα απαδεῖ τον δε τα τε ιρα αιοιξαι
 και τον λεων τετρυμειον ἐς το ἕσχατον κακοῦ
 ἀνεῖναι προς ἔργα τε και θυσιας, δικας δε σφι
 παντων βασιλεων δικαιοτata κρινειν κατα τοῦτο
 μέν νυν το ἔργον ἀπαντων δσοι ηδη βασιλεες
 ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αινεουσι μαλιστα τοῦτον τα
 τε ἄλλα γαρ μιν κριειν εῦ, και δη και τῷ ἐπιμεμ
 φομενῳ ἐκ τῆς δικης παρ εωιτοῦ διδοντα ἄλλα
 αποπιμπλαναι αὐτοῦ τον θυμον εοντι δε ηπιω τῷ
 Μυκερινω κατα τους πολιητας και ταῦτα ἐπιτη
 δενοι τι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι την θυγατέρα ἀπο
 θανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, την μουνον οι εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι
 οικιοισι τεκνοι τον δὲ ὑτεραλγησαντα τε τῷ

like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height, it stands near to the great pyramid, the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty six years.

128 Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Phulitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.¹

129 The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices, and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt, for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

¹ This is the form which Hdt gives to the story of the rule of the shepherds' (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.

περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἐπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Λῦτη ὡν ἡ βοῦς γῆ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκήματι ἡσκη μένῳ θυμιήματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, υἱότα δὲ ἐκάστην πάνυυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκήματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ως ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σάι πόλι ἴρεες ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ως εἴκοσι μάλιστά κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἡ τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ως Μυκερίνος ἡράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούσῃ· μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ως ἡ παῖς ἀπῆγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, δέ δέ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοὶ ταύτῃ, ηδὲ μῆτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τά περ αἱ ζωαὶ ἐπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ως ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταῦτας γὰρ ὡν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ὑποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται

over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary ; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace ; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me ; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief : then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow ; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away ; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple

φοιτικέῳ εῖματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέι κάρτα χρυσῷ μεταξὺ
 δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἥλιου κύκλος μεμιμημένος
 ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὄρθὴ ἀλλ᾽
 ἐν γούρασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη
 βοῦς ζωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ
 πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεαν τύπτωνται Λίγυπτιοι τὸν οὐκ
 ὄνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρίγματι·
 τότε ὃν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐν τῷ φῶς· φασὶ
 γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀπο-
 θυήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἀπαξί μιν τὸν ἥλιον
 κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα
 τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ
 μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα
 μοῦνον βιοὺς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ
 δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐν τὸ μαντήιον τῷ
 θεῷ ὀνείδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον δτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ
 πατὴρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκληίσαντες τὰ ἴρα καὶ
 θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς
 δὲ εὔσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὗτῳ τελευτήσειν.
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν
 λέγοντα τούτων εἶνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν
 τὸν βίον οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαι μιν τὸ χρεὸν ἦν
 ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Λίγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα
 πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς
 πρὸ ἑκείνους γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο,
 κεῖνον δὲ οὕ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον,
 ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιη-
 σάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα

robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels, its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.¹

133 After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life, for he had done what was contrary to fate, Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lumps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

¹ The cow worship is no doubt the cult of Isis honoured at Sais under the name Nit.

αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὕτε ἡμέρης οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἴραι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντίξιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἑξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον ἔκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὄρθως λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὅν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἡτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδώπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λεπομένων Ῥοδώπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἱάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἄνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Λίσωπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἱάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῆδε οὐκ ἤκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου δις βούλοιτο ποιεῖν τῆς Λίσωπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἱάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἱάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Λίσωπος Ἱάδμονος ἐγένετο.

135. Ῥοδώπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ ἐργασίην

merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and whatever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134 This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's, its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length, as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis the courtesan, but they are in error, indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow slave of Aesopus the story writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon, of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to claim the penalty for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135 Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of

ἔλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου
 Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ
 δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὗτῳ δὴ ἡ Ἱόδωπις
 ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ
 κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο
 χρήματα ὡς ἀν εἶναι Ἱόδωπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὡς γε
 ἐσ πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἔξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν
 δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐσ
 τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ
 χρήματα ἀιαθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ἱόδωπις
 μνημήιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι,
 ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ
 ἔξευρημένου καὶ ἀνακείμενου ἐν ἵρῳ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι
 ἐσ Δελφοῦς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. τῆς ὧν δεκάτης
 τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὁ βελοὺς βουπόρους
 πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε τῇ δεκάτῃ οἱ,
 ἀπέπεμπε ἐσ Δελφούς. οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννε-
 νέαται διπεσθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν,
 ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ
 Ναυκράτῃ ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. τοῦτο
 μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὗτῳ
 διῇ τι κλειὴ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἑλληνες
 Ἱόδωπιος τὸ οὔνομα ἔξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον
 ταύτης, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, ἀοίδιμος ὡνά τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἱσσον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρης περιλεσχή-
 ιευτος. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ἱόδωπιν ἀπε-
 νόστησε ἐσ Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφὼ πολλὰ
 κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.

136. Ἱόδωπιος μέν νυν πέρι τέπαυμαι. μετὰ
 δὲ Μυκερῦ ον γενέσθαι Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον
 οἱ ἵρεις Ἀσυχιν, τὸν τὰ τρὸς ἥλιον ἀιίσχοντα
 -οιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τροτύλαια, ἔόντα τολλῷ

money freed for the practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scymandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory, so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi, these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene and was bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136 Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and

τε καλλιπάτα καὶ τολλῆρη μέγεστος· ἔχει μὲν γῆρ
 καὶ τὰ πάντα προτίται πίστοις τε ἐγγεγλιω-
 μένους, καὶ ἀλληρὸν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν μὲν γῆρας,
 ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μαρτυρῆματα. ἐπεὶ τοίστοις βίστι
 λενόντος ἐλεγον, ὑμεῖς εἰσαγεῖτε τολλήρην γρηγάτων,
 γει ἐσθαι τὸ ὄμορφόν γε τοῖσισι, ἀποδεικνύεται εἰς ἔχυρον
 τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν οἶκον οἵτε λαμβάνεται τὸ χρέος,
 προστεθῆσαι δὲ ἔτι τοίτῳ τῷ ιόμον τούτῳ, τὸν
 διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀποσηγεῖ κρατήσειν τῆς τοῦ
 λαμβάνοντος θήτης, τῷ δὲ ἴστοιςέτι τοῦτο τὸ
 εἰς ἔχυρον τῇδε ἐεἴηται ζημίην μὴ βουλομένη
 ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ φτελεῖται σαρτί-
 εῖαι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῷ πατρούν
 τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδεῖ, μήτε ἄλλον μηδεῖσα
 τῶν ἁωτοῦ ἀπογειόμενον θάγα. ἡρθαλέσθαι
 δὲ βουλόμενοι τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς πρότεροι
 ἁωτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους λίγότου μημόσινοι
 πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ τλίθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ
 γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγλεκολαρμέια τάδε λέγοντα
 ἐστί. "Μή με κατοροσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίας
 πυραμίδας· προέχω γάρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον
 ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοιτῷ γάρ ὑποτύπτοιτες
 ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοιτῷ,
 τοῦτο συλλέγοντες τλίθους εἱρυσαν καὶ με τρότῳ
 τοιούτῳ ἔξεποίησαν."

137. Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ
 δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀιγύσιος
 πόλιος, τῷ οὔνομα "Ανυσιν" εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου
 βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ
 Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα.
 τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἰχεσθαι φεύγοιτα ἐς
 τὰ Ἐλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἴγυπτου

largest of all the courts, for while all have even figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king's reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand, wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father's dead body, and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone—"Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone, for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods, for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole, therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built."

137. These were the acts of Aauechis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.¹ The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

the twenty
(the Tishaka)

ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἔθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἔωστῶν πόλι, ὅθεν ἐκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικεόντων. καὶ οὗτῳ ἔτι αἱ πόλιες ἐγένουντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἔχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὄρυξάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένουντο. ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἔτερέων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, μᾶλιστα ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις ἔξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἵρον ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητοτατον· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶν ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἴδεσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμις.

138. Τὸ δ' ἵρον αὐτῆς ὡδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστί· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχεν ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλῃσι, ἀλλ' ἕχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἵρου ἐκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἡ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὑρος ἐοῦσα ἐκατέρη ἐκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατάσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὑψος μὲν δέκα ὄργυιέων ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ ἔξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐδον δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἵρον κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιιόντε· ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἵρου οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ὑρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη, ἐσοπτον ἐστί. περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸν αἴμασιν ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἐστι δὲ ἐσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τάγαλμα ἐνι· εὑρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἵρου πάντη σταδίου ἐστί. κατὰ

recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to ruse embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before, for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138 I will now show the form of her temple save for the entrance, it stands on an island, two separate channels approach it from the Nile, and after coming up to the entry of the temple, they run round it on opposite sides, each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it, for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, curven with figures, runs round it, within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess. The temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.

μὲν δὴ τὴν ἵσοδον ἐστριμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστά κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ, εῦρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέρδρα οὐρα-μήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἐρμέω ἴρον. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἴρον τοῦτο οὗτο ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὥδε ἐλεγοι γενέσθαι ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπεριπτῷ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε οἱ ἄιδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰ-γύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὅψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρό-φασίν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύνται, ἵνα ὑσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τε πρὸς θεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λύβοι οὐκων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθένται τὸν χρονον, ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρίησειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθίοπῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήα, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖδε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὅψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπε-τάρασσε, ἐκῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. 'Ως δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰ-γύπτου, αὐτις τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῇ οἰκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι, σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἡ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν

A road, paved with stone, of about three furlongs length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes, this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139 Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men, he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140 The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth, for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, as their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus, all the kings before him sought it in vain.

αύτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλέες
Λμυρταίου. οὕνομα δὲ ταύτη τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβώ,
μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεὺσαι τὸν ἵρεα τοῦ
Πηφαίστου, τῷ οὗνομα εἴναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλο-
γίησι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰ-
γυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ
ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καί σφεας ἀπελέσθαι
τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων
δεδόσθαι ἔξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας.
μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν
Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυ-
ρίων· οὗκων δὴ ἐθέλειν ταὺς μαχίμους τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν. τὸν δ' ἵρεα ἐς ἀπορίην
ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῶ-
γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὅλο-
φυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπνον, καί οἱ δόξαι
ἐν τῇ δψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν
πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν·
αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δὴ μιν
πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων
τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι
ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτη γάρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἐπε-
σθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ὑνδρῶν, καπι-
λους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ὑνθρώπους.
ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι¹ τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι
ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῆς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν
φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶντας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα,
πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὅχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίη

¹ Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after
τοῖσι; ἀπικομένοισι has the best authority.

for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib¹ against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice² swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

¹ Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

² This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, *Il. i.* It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γεγόμενοι βασιλέες
Λμυρταίου. οὗνομα δὲ ταύτη τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβώ,
μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἵρεα τοῦ
Πηφαίστου, τῷ οὗνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλο-
γίησι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰ-
γυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλα τε δὴ
ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι
τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων
δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκύστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας.
μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν
Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Αραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυ-
ρίων· οὕκων δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν. τὸν δ' ἵρεα ἐς ἀπορίην
ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷ-
γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὅλο-
φυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὅπιον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι
ἐν τῇ ὅψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν
πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάξων τὸν Αραβίων στρατόν·
αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δή μιν
πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων
τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι
ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτη γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἐπε-
σθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπῆ-
λους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους.
ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι¹ τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι
ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῆς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν
φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα,
πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ δόχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίη

¹ Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after στρατίοισι; ἀπικομένοισι has the best authority.

for more than seven hundred years The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth

141 The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them, besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings So presently came king Sanacharib¹ against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians, and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia "Myself, said the god, "will send you champions" So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt, and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice² swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso

¹ Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt —II Kings xviii

² This is Hdt's version of the Jewish story of the pest

φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· “Ἐσ ἐμὲ τις ὄρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω.”

142. Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱρέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. καίτοι τριηκόσιαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέαται μύρια ἔτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεα ἔστι· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτει τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεέων, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἔστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωπειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοισι ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἔξ ηθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἐνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δῆς ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ” ν

much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont, twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises, yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Herodotus¹ the historian was once at Thebes where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the last place.

¹ Herodotus died about or the beginning of

οἱ ἵρεες τῶν Διοῖ, οἵδι τε καὶ ἵμηνοι γειτναί τοι
 σπουδαὶ ἴμειντόν ἐσαγαγόντες, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐστὶ
 ἡρμέγα ἕκηριθμεοι ἑπεικεύτες, κολοσσοῖς ξιλίνιοι
 τοσοι· οὐσον, περ εἰς τοὺς ἄρχετες, γαρ οὐτα
 στος αὐτὸθι ἰστὰς εἴτε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζωῆς εἰσειπα
 ἑωυτοῦ ἄριθμοί τε εἴναι καὶ δειπεύτες οἱ ἵρεις
 θυμοὶ ἀτεδεικινσαί παῖδα πατρὸς ἐντεῖν ἑπεστοι
 ἔοιτα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνοις
 διεξιώντες διὰ πατέρων, τῶν οὖν ἀτεδειξαὶ ἀποστα
 αντίσις· Ἐκαπαίτο δὲ γειτναὶ λογησαί τι ἰστοι καὶ
 ἀπαδήσατε τι ἐστὶ ἔκκαπαδικατοι θεοι ἀτεγειεν λο
 γησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἄριθμοῖσι, οὐδὲ δεκόμειοι παρ' αὐτοῦ
 ἀπόθεον γειέσθαι ἄπρωτοι ἀτεγειεν λογησαί
 δὲ ὅδε, φάμενοι ἔκαστον τῶι κολοσσῶι πιρωμι
 ἐκ πιρωμοι γεγοιέιαι, ἐστὶ τοις τέτε καὶ τεσ
 σερικοιτα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς
 [πιρωμιν ἐτοιομαζομειοι],¹ καὶ οὔτε ἐσθεον οὔτε
 εις ἥρωα ἀνέδησατ αὐτούς πιρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ
 Ἑλλαδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κύγαθος

141 Πίδη ὡν τῶν αἱ εἰκοιες ἦσαι, τοιούτους
 ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας τάντας ἔοιτας, θεῶι δὲ
 πολλον ἀπαλλαγμενους το δε τρότεροι τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
 ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἔοντας ἀμα τοῖσι ἀπρώτοισι, καὶ
 τουτων αἰεὶ ἔνα τον κρατέοντα εἶναι ὑστατον δε
 αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὁρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τον
 Ἀπόλλωια Ἑλληνες ὄνομαζουσι τοῦτον κατα
 παύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὑστατον Αἰγύπτου
 Ὀσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαι

¹ Whether we read ἀπομαζομενον (with Stein) or πιρωμις
 ex πιρωμοις γερμενον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord
 with the construction of the sentence

generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father, they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had latest died. Thus when Hecatæus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god, they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144 Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

¹ Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.

145. Έν "Ελλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οὗ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένουντο. Ἡρακλέι μὲν δὴ σσα αὐτὸι Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς "Δμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτει τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἴηις ἐς "Αμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μέν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἔξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἔστι ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλέι δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἔστι τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

146. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένουντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατά περ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πὰν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὖνόματα τῶν προγεγούτων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσε οἱ "Ελληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γειόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ

145 Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan¹ is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown, Pan is said to be earlier still, the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they had always reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years, and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146 With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus a man may follow whatever story he deems most credible, but I here declare my own opinion concerning them — Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been made manifest in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity, but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus snatched him up in his thigh and carried

¹ The Egyptian term.

ῆνεικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ, καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλα μοι ὡν γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ "Ελληνες τούτων τὰ οὖνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὐδὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μέν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄιθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενεσθαι, ταῦτ' ἡδη φράσω προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δψιος.

"Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Πιφαΐστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χροὶ οι οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἃνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασύμειοι Λιγυπτον πᾶσαν. οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευνον οἱ μοισι τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταιρέειν ἀλλιγίλους μήτε τλέντι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἔτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, εἴραι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα τῶι δε δὲ εἶνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ισχυρῶς τεριστέλλοιτες ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραινίδας τὸις ζαλκέῃ φιάλῃ στείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ τοῦ Πιφαΐστου, τοῦτον ἀτάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου" ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ τάντα ἴρᾳ συιελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δῆ σφι μνημόσνια ἔδοξε λιτέοθαι κοιτᾶ, δύξαν δέ σφι ἐτοιησαντο λαθύριθον, ὄλιγος ἵ-ερ τῇ λίμνῃ τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλωι καλεομένην τολμιν μάλιστά κη κείμειοι· τὸν ἔγαν ἦ-η εἰς τούτου μέζω. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἔξι Ελλῆς τωι τείχει τε καὶ ἔργων ἀ-όδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο,

him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147 Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, undertaking not to depose one another nor to seek to possess one more than another. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this - at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148 Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise, and having so resolved they made a labyrinth,¹ a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders,² were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together.

¹ This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe shaped group of buildings supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawara (Sayee). ² I take οὐδὲν αὐτὸν = οὐδὲν μεταβολή.

αὐλὴ δὲ ἔκάστη περίστιλος λόφου λευκοῦ ἄρμοσ-
μένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος
τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσερακοντόρ-
γυιος, ἐν τῇ ξῷα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἔοιτος τοιούτου
θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη
λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμη-
ται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι
ἔξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοινῶν ἔξικοιτα ἔον-
των, ἵσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Λίγυπτου τὸ παρὰ θύλασσαν.
κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον,
ἔοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτὴ ἔωστής, πεντη-
κοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἔστι καὶ ὀρυκτή,
αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κῃ
ἔστασι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι
πεντήκοντα ὀργυιὰς ἑκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος
οἰκοδόμηται ἔτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρησι
ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθιος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ.
οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δὲ
ἑκατὸν ὀργυιὰς δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἔξαπλεθροι,
ἔξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετρα-
πήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἔοντων,
τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἔξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν
τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ
δὴ δεινῶς ἔστι ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ
διώρυχα ἔσηκται, καὶ ἔξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς
τὴν λίμνην, ἔξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νείλον αὐτις·
καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέη ἔξω, ἢ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἔξ μῆνας
ἐφ τὸ βασιλίσιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔκαστην
τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔσιη
τὰ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, εἴκασε μνεας.

court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved A passage has been made into this underground

149 Such is this labyrinth, and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seashore of Egypt Its length is from north to south, the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself, for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water, atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high, and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile, six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake

150. Ήλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὡς ἔς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἔς Λιβύην ἐκδιδοῖ ή λίμην αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐστέρην ἔς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπέρ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρυγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔοιτα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δή μοι ἦρ, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦν ὁ ἔξορυγχθείτις. οἵ δὲ ἔφρασάν μοι ἵτα ἔξεφοροίθη, καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθοι· ἥδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλι οὐρόμενον ἔτερον τοιοῦτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδανατάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἔοιτα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἔς τὰ βασιλήια οἰκία ὥρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὄρυγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἔς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἔξεφόρεον, ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἔτερον ἥκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὄρυγμα οὐρέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον ὄρυσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἔς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν. δὲ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μέν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὄρυγχθῆναι.

151. Τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὄρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὃ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔξήνεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἔωθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτὼν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δυώδεκα ἕσσοισι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὃ ἐσχάτος ἐστεῶς αὐτῶν Ψαμ-

150 Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches inland towards the west along the mountains that are above Memphis. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whether it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapalus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off, they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151 Now the twelve kings dealt justly, and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus temple. On the first day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this, but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, I mean Metichus, got no vessel, wherefore taking

μῆτιχος, περιελύμενος τὴν κυνέην ιοῦσιν χαλκέην
ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἵσπερδε. κυνίας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἄπαιτες ἐφόρεον τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγχανον τότε
ἔχοιτες. Ψαμμῆτιχος μέν τυν οὐδεὶς δολερῷ τότην
χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην οἵ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ¹
λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμῆτιχον καὶ τὸ
χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τοις χαλκέη σπεί-
σαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μού-
νον Λίγύπτου, ἀγαμησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖνάι
μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμῆτιχον, ὡς ἀγεύρισκον
βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προοίης αὐτὸν ποιή-
σαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐλεα ἐδοξέσθαι ψιλώσαν-
τας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων
ὁρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Λίγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμῆτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύ-
γοντα τὸν Αἴθιοπα Σαβακῶν, ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα
Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην,
ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὅψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἴθιοψ,
κατήγαγον Αἴγυπτίων οὗτοι οἵ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ
Σαΐτεω εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον
πρὸς τῶν ἔνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ
τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἐλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὡν
ὡς περιυβρισμένος εἴη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασ-
θαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δέ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν
πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐνθα δὴ
Αἴγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἥλθε
χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων
ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίῃ
μεγάλῃ ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξειν ἐπι-
κούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγ-
καίη κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ
ληίην ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον,

bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his head-gear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152 This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos, then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sus brought him back from Syria, and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt, the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carrians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in

their mail of bronze, and an Egyptian came into the ninth country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were forging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle, he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153 Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Sphingius temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears, this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures, the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars Apis is in the Greek language Eupaphus.

154 The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile, and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue, these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.

καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἔξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Λίγυπτίων. τοιτῶν δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, οἱ Ἑλληνες οὗτοι ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Λίγυπτον γινόμεια ἀπὸ Ψαμμῆτίχου βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἔξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὲ οἵ τε ὄλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἴσταν.

Ιδού. Ψαμμῆτιχος μέν νυν οὗτοι ἔσχε Αἴγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἡδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἔόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλι θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὕνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ταύτῃ ὄκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἔστι Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱρὸν δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὅ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐών μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὑψος δέκα ὀργυιέων. τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φαγερῶν ἴνθωμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἐς τε ὑψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἔκαστος τούτοισι ἵσος τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἔκαστον ἔστι, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὄροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

long afterwards, King Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis to be his guard against the Egyptian. It came of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammethicus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines¹ of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155 This is the story of Psammethicus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is in a temple sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto, I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there in this precinct. Is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab, each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

¹ I probably captain for hauling the ship ashore.

156. Οὕτω μέν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν
 μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἵρὸν ἔστι θωμαστοτά-
 τον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλευ-
 μένη· ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κει-
 μένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἵρον, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ’
 Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὐτῇ ἡ νῆσος πλωτή· αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδοι, τέ-
 θηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἔστι πλωτή·
 ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἔνι καὶ
 βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύαται, ἐμπεφύκασι δ’ ἐν
 αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα καὶ καρ-
 ποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπι-
 λέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν,
 ὡς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἔούσῃ πρότερον πλωτή
 Λητώ, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενο-
 μένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δή οἱ τὸ
 χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἔστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ’ Ἰσιος
 παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα
 ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν
 διζήμενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἔξευρεῖν τοῦ
 Οσίριος τὸν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν
 Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιος λέγουσι εἶναι πάιδας, Λητοῦν
 δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπ-
 τιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὄρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἰσις,
 Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου
 καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Λίσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε
 τὸ ἔγω φράσω, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενο-
 μένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα
 Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι
 πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσ-
 σερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα

156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before At-sus.

τριήκοντα Ἀξωτοφ τῇ Συρίης μεγαλην πόλιν προσκατίμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς δὲ ἔξειδε. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀξωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρονον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῷ ίημεῖς ἴδμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Λίγυπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχῃ ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὑρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὅμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἥκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὄδωρ ἐς αὐτῆς ἥκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὄλιγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλειν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὄρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Λίγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι· τοῦ ὧν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἥκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ, καὶ ἐπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότου ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρη, δσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστί· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὄρύσσοντες Αἴγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυάδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μέν νυν μεταξὺ ὄρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε,

a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard

158 Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea,¹ which was finished by Darius the Persian This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus, it issues into the Red Sea The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia, the mountains that extend to Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain, the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains in a long reach from west to east, passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Cisian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less, this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked In Necos reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it During the course of excavations Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

¹ This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bulatia) up to the Suez. It seems to me according to Darius constructed it must be of stone in the middle of the sea

HERODOTUS

τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὄμοιγλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεes αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηίῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὄλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταῦτης τε ἔχρατο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε, μέτα δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἐκκαΐδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾶ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιότata καὶ κάλλιστα τιθένται τὸν ὁν Ὁλυμπίη ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ ἀν τὸν σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἴνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπινθάνοντο τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἀπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὄμοιῶς τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι

utterance that he was looking hitherland for the barbarian The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159 Necton then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation, some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast the landing-engines of these are still to be seen He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,¹ taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis² after the battle He sent to Branchidæ of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead

160 While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests The Eleans answered that this was so all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

¹ Magdolus appears to be the Migdal of O T

² Gaza

ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας
οῦτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι.
οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ
ἀγωνίζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον.
ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου
εἴνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείροισι ἀγωνί-
στῆσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι. Ἡλείων δὲ
μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι
Ἡλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος
Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην καὶ
μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἔξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ
Ψάμμιος· διὰ μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἑώυτοῦ προ-
πάτορα ἐγένετο εύδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον
βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν
τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυ-
μάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ἕδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι,
ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν
τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δὲ
ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ
Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε,
Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης
αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ
σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ
ποιεύμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν
ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἴθέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. διὸ δὲ
ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατέλαμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

might contend Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleins Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleins

161 Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only, he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries¹ his son reigned in his stead He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him, for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted

162 Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

¹ Apries is the II p'm of OT. He reigned from 599 to 569 B.C. Apries left the state in that he attacked Tyre and was successful with Jewish territory (Jeremiah 46: 14-16)

HERODOTUS

ταῦτα μη ποιεειν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων οπισθε στὰς περιεθηκέ οι κυνειν, καὶ περιτίθεις ἔφη επι βασιλήη περιτίθεναι καὶ τῷ οὐ κως αεκουσιον ἐγίνετο το ποιεύμενον, ὡς διε δεικνυε επειτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῷ Αἰγυπτίων οι απεστεῶτες, παρεσκευαζέτο ως ἐλῶν επι τὸν Ἀπριην πυθομενος δε ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπριης ἔπειτε επ' Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δοκιμου τῶν περὶ ἐωυτου Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Παταρβημις, εντειλαμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν αγαγεῖν παρ εωυτον ως δε απικομενος τον Ἀμασιν ἐκαλεε Παταρβημις ὁ Ἀμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ επ' ἵππου κατημενος, ἐπαειρας ἀπεματαισε, καὶ τοῦτο μιν ἐκελευε Ἀπριη απαγειν δμως δε αὐτον αξιοῦν τον Παταρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ιειαι προς αυτον τον δε αυτῷ υπακρινεσθαι ως ταῦτα πιλαι παρεσκευαζέτο ποιέειν, καὶ αυτῷ οὐ μεμ ψεσθαι Ἀπριην παρέσεσθαι γαρ καὶ αὐτος καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν τον δὲ Παταρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομειων οὐκ ἀγνοεειν την διανοιαν, καὶ παρ ασκευαζομενον ορῶντα σπουδῆ ἀπιειναι βουλομενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλέι δηλώσαι τα πρησσομενα ως δε απικέσθαι αὐτον τρος τον Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τον Ἀμασιν, οὐδενα λογον αυτῷ δοι τα αλλα περιθυμιως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστιξαι αυτοῦ τι τε ὥτα καὶ την ρῆνα ιδομενοι δ' οι λοιποι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ ἔτε τὰ ἐκειουν ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τον δοκιμωτατον ἐωυτῶν οὗτω αἰσχρῶς λύμη διακειμειον, οὐδεια δη χρονον ἐπισχοντες ἀπιστεατο -ρος τοὺς ἔτέρους καὶ εδιδοσαν σφεας αὐτους Ἀμασι

163 Πυθομειος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπριης ὥτλιζε

desist from what they did, but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king's summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him “For I will come myself,” quoth he, “and bring others with me.” Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis' purpose, he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he gave him no chance to speak, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis' ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who still favoured his cause, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163 This news too being brought to Apries, he

τοὺς ἐπικαύρους καὶ ιῆλαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίγυττους
εἶχε δὲ τερὶ ἑώυτοι Κάρας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἄδρας
ἐπικαύρους τρισμυρίους ἦν δε οἱ -ὰ βασιλιὰς εἰ
Σάι τόλι, μεγάλαι ἔστα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα καὶ οἱ τε
περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίγυττους ιῆσαν καὶ
οἱ περὶ τοι Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξεῖους ἐι τε δη
Μωμέρφι πόλι ἐγειοι το ἀμφοτεροι καὶ πειρη
σεοθαι ἔμελλοι ἀλλήλωι

164 Ὁστι δὲ Λίγυττοι ἔττα γεια, καὶ
τούτων οἱ μεγάρεες οι δε μαχιμοι λεκλέαται, οι
δὲ βούκολοι οἱ δε συβῶται, οι δε καπηλοι, οἱ δε
έρμιηες, οἱ δὲ λυθερηται γέια μεν Λίγυ
πτίων τοσαῦτα εστι, οὐνοματα δε σφι κέεται απο
τῷ -εχνών οἱ δε μαχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μει
Καλασίριες τε καὶ Ἡρμοτυβιες ἐκ ιομῶι δε
τῶνδε εἰσὶ κατὰ γάρ δὴ ιομους Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα
διαραίρηται

165 Ἡρμοτυβιων μεν οἵδε εἰσι ιομοί, Βουσι
ρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χεμιτης, Παπρημίτης, ιῆσος ἡ
Προσωπῖτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ το ιῆμισυ ἐκ μεν
τούτων τῷ ιομῶν Ἡρμοτύβιες εἰσι, γεναμενοι,
ὅτε ἐπὶ πλειστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκαλδεκα μυριάδες
καὶ τούτων βαιαυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδαηκε οὐδεν, πλλ'
ἀνέωνται ἐς το μαχιμον

166 Καλασίριων δὲ οἵδε ἄλλοι νομοι εἰσι,
Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης Μεν
δησιος, Σεβεννυτης, Ἀθριβιτης, Φαρβαιθιτης
Θμουίτης, Οι ουφιτης, Αι ιυτιος, Μικεφοριτης
οὗτος ὁ ιομος ἐι ιῆσω οἰκέει ἀι τιον Βουβαστιος
πολιος οὗτοι δε οἱ νομοι Καλασίριων εἰσὶ, γε
νόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλειστους ἐγειοιτο, πειτε καὶ
εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν οὐδὲ τουτοισι ἔξεστι

armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians, he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the stringers, so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164 The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swine herds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots So many classes there are, each named after its vocation The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces)

165 The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho—all of these, their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand None of these has learnt any common trade, they are free to follow arms alone

166 The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphiensis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaithus, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these, their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men These too may practise

HERODOTUS

τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον
ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μέν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἴγυπτίων
μεμαθήκασι οἱ "Ελληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι,
ὅρέων καὶ Θρήκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ
Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπο-
τιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς
τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων,
τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιέων γεν-
ναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλιστα τοὺς· ἐς
τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὧν τοῦτο
πάντες οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ μᾶλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
ῆκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὅνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δέ σφι ἦν τάδε ἔξαραιρημένα μού-
νοισι Αἴγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἵρεων, ἄρουραι ἔξαί-
ρετοι δυώδεκα ἑκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα
ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτίων πάντη, ὁ δὲ Αἰ-
γύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἵσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ.
ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἀπασι τῇδε ἔξαραιρημένα, τάδε
δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὡυτοί.
Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἐρμοτυβίων ἔδορυφόρεον
ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε
πάρεξ τῶν ἄρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ
ἑκάστῃ, ὅπτοῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἑκάστῳ,
κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἷνον τέσσερες ὄρυστῆρες.
ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτε δὲ συνιόντες ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων
τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὃ "Αμασίς πάντας Λίγυπτίους
ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Λιώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμα-
χέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσ-
σονες ἔοιτες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ

no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling

167 Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades and their descendants are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168 The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges. For each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all, it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.¹ A thousand Kalasaries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169 When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphus they joined battle, and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

¹ That is each twelve acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year

λέγεται εἶναι ἦδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἀν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἐωսτῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἔδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἐωστοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἔοντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἦδη βασιλίγα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι, καί μιν "Ἀμασίς εὖ περιεῖπε· τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιέοι δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωστῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδοῖ τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οὐ δέ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἐπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρωίησι ταφῆσι· αὐτὸν δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σᾶῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἕσω ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρω μὲν ἔστι τοῦ μεγάρου ἡ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ· ἕσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξά θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἔστι.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιου ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἔξαγορεύειν τὸ οὔνομα ἐν Σάι, ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ ιηοῦ, παιτὸς ιοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἔχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὄβελοι ἔστασι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἔστι ἔχομένη λιθίνη κρηπῖδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κυκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἔδόκεε, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Διῆλῳ ἡ τροχοειδής καλεομένη.

supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne, so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sus, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was sustained for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in allowing one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy to live, whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sus buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors, yet it also is within the temple court, it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170 There is also at Sus the burial place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter, it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct, and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle, it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.

171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μέν νυν τούτων εἰδότε μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὔστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἵ "Ελληνες θεομοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὔστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἔστι λέγειν· αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἡσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἔξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναικας· μετὰ δὲ ἔξαναστάσης πάσης¹ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἔξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἵ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἔξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιρημένου ἐβασίλευσε "Αμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαΐτεω ἐών, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλιος, οὐνομά οἱ ἔστι Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνοντο τὸν "Αμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἥγον ἄτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὸν ἔόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ "Αμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτῆρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ "Αμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκύστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαιμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἴδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεότατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῶγαλμα ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ "Αμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τῶγαλμα γεγο-

¹ Stein brackets τάση, as not consistent with the following words.

171 On this lake they enact by night the story of the gods' sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace, nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria,¹ saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women, afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172 Apries being thus deposed, Amasis^{*} became king, he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Sais. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family, but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden foot bath, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city, and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the foot bath, *εντελέχεια*.

* A festival celebrated by Attics in honor of the goddess.

νέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἔναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἵδη ὡν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανικτῆρι πεπρηγέναις εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωսτοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἔχρατο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον μέχρι ὅτευ πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἐπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἵν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοισι οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. “Ω βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὄρθρος σεωυτοῦ πρέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτὸν. σὲ γὰρ ἔχρην ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι’ ἡμέρης πρησσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ’ ἀν ἡπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ’ ἀγδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἀμεινον σὺ ἀν ἥκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.” Ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. “Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐνταυνύοντες εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγεῖη ἄν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπουν κατάστασις εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωστὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἀν ἦτοι μανεῖς ἡ ὁ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο.

174. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ “Αμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἴδιότης,

his subjects had wished their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses, now they greatly revered it "So now" (quoth he to them) "it has fared with me as with the foot bath, once I was a common man, now I am your king, it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard

173 In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves, and this is how he ordered his affairs in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him, the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him "O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business, thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them, but now your behaviour is nowise royal" "Nay, Amasis answered them, "men that have bows bend them at need only, were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed Such too is the nature of men Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a surshire of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it, I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn" Such was his answer to his friends

174 It is said that before Amasis was a king he

ώς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκάμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνήρ. ὅκως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἀν περιών· οἱ δὲ ἄν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον· ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαυτήιον, ὅκου ἐκάσταισι εἴη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαυτήιων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἴρων οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε ώς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαυτήια ἐκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ώς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἔστων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαυτήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σάï τῇ Ἀθηναίη προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἔξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὑψεῖ καὶ τῷ μεγάθεῖ, δσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὅκοιων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμίκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἤγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόσον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάïος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ἄλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἐστι τόδε· οἰκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκύμιζον μὲν ἐπ'

was a man nowise serious minded but much given to drinking and jesting, and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would wander round and steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them, and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false, but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175 Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene¹ at Sus, surpassing, in height and grandeur, and in the size and splendour of the stones, all who had erected such buildings, moreover, he set up huge images and vast man headed sphinxes,² and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis, those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine,³ distant twenty days journey by river from Sus. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone, three years it

¹ Apparently, Nit, also identified with Demeter (132, note).

² Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

³ The island opposite Assuan, the Assuan quarries have always been famous.

ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπαντεῖς ἦσαν κυβερνῆται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεες, εὐρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος . . .,¹ τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδε εἴνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οἵα τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενου τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἔāν ἔτι πρωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ηδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἀνθρώπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ "Αμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι Ἑλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐὼν ἐκάτερος, δὲ μὲν ἔιθεν ὃ δὲ ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἔτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ "Ισι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρὸν "Αμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἔξοικοδομήσας, ἐὸν μέγι τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

177. Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὑδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

¹ This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ εὖρος
ζυγός εἰς τηχέων.

was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them This chamber measures in outer length twenty one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block , its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits It lies by the entrance of the temple, the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further Some again say that a man, one of them that hewed up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within

176 Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus temple at Memphis, this image is seventy five feet in length , there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high There is at Sais another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177 It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what

ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γενόμεια καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἀὶ θρῶποισι, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομέτιας. νόμοι τε Λίγυπτίοισι τόνδε "Αμασις ἔστι ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικιγέναι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῷ γομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Λίγυπτίων ὅθερ βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίγοιτα δικαίην ζόην οὐδέτεροι εσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Λίγυπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἔοντι ἀμώμῳ γόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμειος ὁ Αμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικρευμένοισι ἐς Λίγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βιωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν υν μέγιστον αὐτῷ τέμενος, καὶ ὄνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἐλλήνιον, αἴδε αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶν αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέας καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Λιόλέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληνίων μούνη. τουτέων μὲν ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶν αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Λίγυνῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι "Ηρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἡν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Λίγυπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν

the river did for the land and the land for its people and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people, may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law

178 Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port, if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own sacred to Zeus, and so did the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo

179 Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his

όμοσαι μὴ μὲν ἔκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· οὐδὲ εἰ μή γε οἴα τε εἴη πρὸς ἄνεμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἕδει περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὗτο μὲν δὴ Ναυκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι υἱὸν ἔόντα ιηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἔξεργυσασθαι (ό γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλύχιστον ἐξ Λίγύπτου ήνείκαντο· "Αμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίης τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Λίγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες "Ελληνες εἴκοσι μυέας.

181. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ "Αμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμας αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἐλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἶνεκα· γαμέει δὲ ὁν οὖ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἵ δ' Ἀρκεσίλεω θυγατέρα, οὖ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπείτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ "Αμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἶστος τε ἐγίνετο, τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἔχρāτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἴπε ὁ "Αμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, "Ω γύναι, κατά με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." η δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀριευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρητῦτερος ὁ "Αμασις, εὔχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ην οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην

own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naueratis. In such honour was Naueratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had contracted for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,¹ and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilans by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to the most terrible end of all women." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to

¹ Alum, apparently.

τὴν γύκτα μιχθῆ ὁ "Αμασις, τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἴναι μῆχας, ἀγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψεις ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ "Αμασις, καὶ τὸ ἐιθεῦτεις ἥδη, ὅκότε ἐλθοι "Αμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ή δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἀγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἡν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένου τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκρίτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἦτις εἴη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῆματα ὁ "Αμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναῖς καὶ εἰκόνα ἔωντοῦ γραφῆς εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναῖῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ "Πρη εἰκόνας ἔωντοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αὖ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἴδρυατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἔωντοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἶνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς λέγεται τὰς Δαραοῦ θυγατέρας ἴδρυσασθαι προσχούσσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ "Αμασις, εἰλε δὲ Κύπρου πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν.

Aphrodite that she would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night, for that would remedy the evil, and there after all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much Ladice paid her vow to the goddess, she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, facing outwards from the city Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed

182 Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast plate, and to Hera in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates¹ son of Aeaces, what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Dimus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus Such were Amasis' offerings Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself

¹ Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis see III. 39

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Abae, I 40
 Abantes, I 146
 Abdera, I 168
 Acarnania, II 10
 Achaeans, I 145, 146, II 120
 Achaemenidae, I 125
 Achelous, II 10
 Adrastus, I 35, 41, 43, 45
 Adrias, I 163
 Aeia, I 2
 Aegae, I 145
 Aegaeae, I 149
 Aegeus, I 173
 Aegion, I 145
 Aegira, I 145
 Aegiroessa, I 149
 Aegyptus, II *passim*
 Aeolians, I 6, 26, 28, 141, 149–152,
 167, 171 II 1, 90, 178
 Aeschylius II 156
 Aesopus II 134
 Aethiopia, II 11, 28, 30, 110, 114,
 139, 146, 161
 Aethiopians, II 22, 39, 30, 104
 137–140
 Agamemnon, I 67
 Agasicles, I 144
 Agbatana, I 98, 110, 153
 Agron, I 7
 Agyllae, I 167
 Alalia, I 105, 160
 Alcaeus, I 7
 Alcenor, I 82
 Alcmaeon, I 59
 Alcmaeonidae, I 61, 64
 Alcmena, II 43, 144
 Alexandrus, I 3, II 113–117
 Alitta I 131
 Alyattes, I 16–25, 73, 74, 92, 93
 Amasis, I 30, 77, 181, II 154
 161–163, 169, 172–176, 178, 182
 Ammon I 46, II 32, 55
 Ammonii, II 32, 42
 Amoun, II 42
 Amphilarus, I 46, 49, 62
 Amphictyones, II 180
 Amphilius, I 62
 Amphitryon, II 43
 Amyrtaeus, II 140
 Amytheon, II 49
 Anaxandrides, I 67
 Anthylla, II 93
 Anysis, II 137, 140, 160
 Apaturia, I 147
 Aphrodisium (Cyprian), I 105
 — (Egyptian), II 112
 Aphrodite, I 105, 131, 109; II 41
 112, 181
 Aphthartana, II 166
 Apis (town), II 18
 — (Eparhus), II 153
 Apollo, I 60, 52, 69, 87, 91, 144,
 II 159, 178
 Apries, II 161, 169
 Arabia, II 8, 12, 15, 19, 7^o, 124, 158
 Arabian Gulf II 11, 102, 158
 Arabes, I 131, 198
 Aravas, I 202, 205
 Arcades, I 68, 140, II 171
 Archandrus II 97, 98
 Archidice, II 135
 Archilochus, I 12
 Ardericca, I 185
 Ardys I 15
 Area, II 63, 64, 83
 Arganthonius, I 163, 165
 Argiv, I 31, 82
 Argolis, I 82
 Argos, I 1, 5, 82
 Arion, I 23, 24
 Arisba, I 151
 Aristodicus I 158, 159
 Ariston, I 67
 Arizanti, I 101
 Armenii, I 194
 Arsame, I 209

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Dorus, I 26
 Dospiri, I 125
 Dryope, I 26, 166
 Dyse, I 145
 Echinades, II 10
 Elba, II 140
 Elans, II 162
 Elephantine, II 9, 17, 29, 69, 175
 Elieus, I 30
 Elmeti, I 196
 Epaphus, II 39, 153
 Ephesus, I 92, 142, II 10, 144
 Eretria, I 61, 62
 Erythrae, I 14, 142
 Etearchus, II 32, 33
 Euphorion, II 156
 Euphrates, I 180, 185, 186, 191, 193
 Europe, I 4, 103, 209, II 16, 26,
 33, 103. (daughter of Agenor),
 I 2, 173
 Germanii, I 125
 Glaucus (of Chios), I 25
 — (son of Hippolochus), I 147
 Gordias, I 14, 35, 45
 Gorgon, II 91
 Grynea, I 149
 Gygaean lake, I 92
 Gyges, I 8-15
 Gyndes, I 180, 190, 202
 Halicarnassus, I 144, 175, II 178
 Halys, I 6, 28, 72-75, 103, 130
 Harpagus, I 80, 108-110, 118, 119,
 123, 129, 162, 169, 171-176

Hecat, II 23
 Hippas, I 61
 Hippocampus, I 23
 Hippolytus, I 147
 Hippo, II 50
 Hippocrates, II 155
 Homer, II 22, 63, 116, 117
 Hybla, I 167
 Hyllus, I 40
 Hyrcania, I 84
 Hyrtaspes, I 163, 209
 Jadmon, II 136
 Jalyas, I 144
 Jardanus, I 17
 Iberia, I 163
 Idia, I 151
 Illum, I 5, II 10, 117-120
 Illyril, I 106
 Io, I 1, 2, 5, II 41
 Ionians, *passim*
 Is., I 170
 Iss, II 41, 42, 60, 61, 122, 123, 150,
 170
 Issedones, I 201
 Ister, I 202, II 26, 33, 34
 Istria, II 33
 Italia, I 24, 145
 Ibynetus, I 74, 77, 183
 Iacedaemon, I 6, 65-68, 82
 Lacrines, I 152
 Ladice, II 181
 Lebedus, I 142
 Leleges, I 171

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Sebennytic district, II 17, 155, 166
Semiramis, I 184
Semele, II 145, 146
Serbonian Marsh II 6
Sesostris II 102-104, 106-108, 110,
 111, 137
Sethos, II 141
Sidon, II 116, 161
Sinope, I 76, II 34
Sinuph, II 172
Smyrna I 14, 16, 94, 143, 149, 150,
 II 106
Soloëis, II 31
Solon, I 20-34, 86; II 177
Solymi, I 173
Spargapises, I 211, 213
Sparta, I 65
Struchates, I 101
Strymon, I 64
Susa, I 188
Syene, II 28
Syennesis I 74
Syme, I 174
Syria, Syria, I 6, 72, 76, 105; II
 12, 20, 30, 104, 106, 159
Syrtis, II 32, 150
- Tabalus, I 154, 161
Tachompsos II 20
Taenarum I 23, 24
Tanite district, II 166
Taras, I 24
Tartessus I 163
Tegea, I 65, 66-68
Tellus I 30
Teos I 142, 168, 170, II 178
Telmessians I 78, 84
Temnus, I 140
- Tenedos, I 151
Teucer, II 118
Teuthrania II 10
Thalev, I 74, 75, 170
Thasos, II 44
Thebes (Boeotian), I 52, 92
— (Egyptian), I 182; II 3, 9, 15,
 54-56, 58, 69, 74, 91, 143, 166
Theodorus, I 51
Thermodon, II 104
Thesmophoria II 171
Thessalia I 57
Thmuitan district, II 166
Thonis, II 113, 114
Thornax, I 69
Thrace I 168, II 103, 134, 167
Thrasybulus, I 20-23
Thyni I 28
Thyrea, I 82
Ticri, I 189, 193, II 150
Timarete, II 55
Timesius, I 168
Tmolus, I 84, 93
Tomyrus, I 205, 212, 214
Triopium, I 144, 174
Tritaees, I 145
Tritantaechmes, I 192
Troës, II 120
Trophonius, I 46
Typhon, II 144, 150
Tyre, I 2, II 44, 112, 161
Tyrrhenians, I 57, 94, 163, 166, 167
- Xanthes, II 135
Xanthus, I 176
Xerxes, I 183
- Zeus, *passim*



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